

HISTORY OF INDIA

THE HISTORY OF INDIA

As Told By Its Own Historians

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT

Edited by Prof. John Dowson



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HISTORIANS OF SIND

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This volume comprises the historical, ethnological and miscellaneous portion of the Appendix of the first volume of the original edition of the work. *Early Arab Geographers, Historians of Sind* Vols I & II, and the present volume have got connecting links.

We reproduce below extracts from the Editor's preface to the First Volume of the original edition:

So far as this volume is concerned, Sir H. Elliot's plan has been followed, and the special histories of Sind form a distinct book, but for the main portion of the work his plan will be changed. In classifying his materials as "General Histories" and "Particular Histories," Sir H. Elliot adopted the example set by previous compilers of catalogues and other bibliographical works, but he sometimes found it convenient to depart from this division. Thus the *Kamilut Tawarikh* of ibn Asir and the *Nizamu-t Tawarikh* of Baizawi, are general histories, but they are classed among the particular histories because they were written shortly after the fall of the Ghaznavides, and their notices of India are confined almost exclusively to that dynasty.

The great objection to this arrangement in an historical work is that it separates, more than necessary, materials relating to the same person and the same subject. Thus the *Tarikh-i Badauni* of 'Abdul Kadir is particularly valuable for the details it gives of the reign and character of Akbar under whom the writer lived. But this is a general history, and so would be far removed from the *Akbar-nama* of Abdu-l Fazl, which is a special history comprising only the reign of Akbar. A simple chronological succession, irrespective of the general or special character of the different works, seems with the single exception of the Sindian writers to be the most convenient historical arrangement. This plan does not entirely obviate the objection above noticed, but it tends greatly to its diminution.

The translations are in many different hands. Some few are in Sir H. Elliot's own handwriting, others were made by different English officers, but the majority of them seem to have been the work of *munshis*. With the exception of those made by Sir H. Elliot himself, which will be noted whenever they occur, I have compared the whole of them with the original texts and the errors which I have had to correct have been innumerable and extensive. But with all my care it is to be feared that some misreadings may have escaped detection, for it is very difficult for a reviewer to divest himself entirely of the colour given to a text by the original translator. In some cases it would have been easier to make entirely new translations, and many might have been made more readable, but, according to Sir H.

Elliot's desire, "the versions are inelegant, as, in order to show the nature of the original, they keep as close to it as possible; and no freedom has been indulged in with the object of improving the style, sentiments, connection, or metaphors of the several passages which have been quoted:" the wide difference in the tastes of Europeans and Orientals has, however, induced me to frequently substitute plain language for the turgid metaphors and allusions of the texts.

The reference made by Sir H. Elliot to the works of other authors are very numerous, especially in the articles which appeared in his printed volume. Some of these references have been checked, and the passages referred to have been found to be of very little importance. They would seem to have been made for the author's rather than for general use, but still it is difficult to determine beforehand what particular part of an article may attract attention or excite opposition. I have worked under the great disadvantage of living in the country far away from public libraries, and have been confined in great measure to the limited resources of my own library. It has thus been impracticable for me to verify many of these references or to judge of their value. I have therefore deemed it more expedient to insert the whole than to omit any which might eventually prove serviceable.

With the advertisements published before the work came into my hands, there was put forth a scheme of spelling to be observed in the reprint of Sir H. Elliot's Glossary and in this work, by which Sanskrit and Semitic words were to be made distinguishable by diacritical marks attached to the Roman equivalent letters. Admitting the ingenuity of the scheme, I nevertheless declined to adopt it, and so a determination was come to, that the long vowels only should be marked. It seemed to me that this system of spelling while it would have required a great deal of minute attention on the part of the Editor and Printer, would practically have been unheeded by the general reader, and useless to the scholar. In doubtful cases, the affiliation of a word without proofs or reasons, would have been valueless, but more than all this, the many Turanian words must have appeared with a Sanskrit or Semitic label upon them. Either too much or too little was attempted, and even if the design could be completely accomplished a philological work like the Glossary would be a more fitting vehicle for its introduction than a book like the present.

It only remains for me to express my obligations to Mr E. Thomas for many valuable hints and suggestions. I am also indebted to General Cunningham for several important notes, which I have been careful to acknowledge *in loco*, and for placing at my disposal his valuable Archaeological Reports, which are too little known in Europe.

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THE RAI DYNASTY

The *Chach-nama*¹ mentions only the three immediate predecessors of the usurper Chach, and in this it is followed by the *Tarikh-i Sind*. (See *Historians of Sind* Part I) It states that "Rai Siharas, the son of Diwaj (called also Shahi-Shahi) was defeated and slain by the army of king Nimroz,² which entered Kirman from the direction of Fars; and that he was succeeded by his son Rai Sahasi." It will be observed from the annexed extract, that the *Tuhfatu-l Kuwan* gives two additional reigns, which are not, however, referred to any specific authority of ancient date.

"*Dynasty of the Rais.*—Then capital was the city of Alor, and the boundaries of their country were on the east, Kashmir and Kanauj, on the west, Makran and the shore of the sea of 'Uman, that is, the port of Debal, on the south, the port of Surat (Surashtra), and on the north, Kandahar, Sistan, the hills of Sulaman and Karkaman. As the commencement of this dynasty has not been ascertained, I content myself with mentioning some of the names which are known.

"*Rai Diwaj.* He was a powerful chief whose absolute rule extended to the limits above mentioned. He formed alliances with most of the rulers of Hind, and throughout all his territories caravans travelled in perfect security. On his death, he was succeeded by his son

"*Rai Siharas*, who followed the steps of his father in maintaining his position in happiness, comfort, and splendour, during a long reign. His celebrated son was

"*Rai Sahasi*, who also swayed the sceptre with great pomp and power. He followed the institutions of his ancestors, and accomplished all his desires.

"*Rai Siharas II.* was his son and successor. King Nimroz raised an army for the purpose of attacking him, and the Rai, having advanced to the borders of Kich to meet it, selected a field of battle. The flame of war blazed

¹ See *Historians of Sind—Part I*

² Sir H. Elliot considers Nimroz to be the name of the king, but it is quite open to read the words "Badshah Nimroz" as "king of Nimroz." This reading seems preferable, and has been adopted in the translation of the *Chach-nama*

from morn to midday, when an arrow pierced the neck of the Rai, so that he died. King Nimroz, after plundering the camp, returned to his own country. The army of Siharas assembled in a body, and seated by his son Sahasi upon the throne.

"*Rai Sahasi II.* excelled his ancestors in estimable qualities. Having, within a short time, settled affairs within the borders of his kingdom, he enjoyed rest and peace in his capital. He remitted the taxes of his subjects, on condition that they should raise (or repair) the earthwork of six forts, viz., Uchh, Matela, Seorai, Mad (or Mau), Alor, and Siwistan. He had a chamberlain named Ram, and a minister named Budhiman. One day, Chach, son of Silaj, a Brahman of high caste, came to Ram, the chamberlain, who was so pleased with his society, that he introduced him to the minister."

The names of these rulers are thus given by Capt. Postans, in two different papers in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and on the authority of the same work, the *Tuhfatu-l Kuram* :

No. cxi, 1841, p. 185.—"Rahee Dewahey, Rahee Siheersin, Rahee Sahursee, Rahee Siheersin the 2nd, Rahee Sahee "

No. clviii, 1845, p. 79.—"Rahi Dawahij, Sahiras, Rahi Sahasi, Rahi Sahiras the 2nd, Rahi Sahasi the 2nd "

In an earlier number of the same *Journal* (No lxxiv, Feb., 1838, p. 93), James Prinsep observed, "*Diwaij* seems a corruption of *dwija* 'the Brahman,' and *Sahurs* resembles much the genitive *sahasa* of our Saurashtra coins, of whom the first is a *swamiputra*, or son of a Brahman; but the date seems too recent. But it appears from the passage just quoted, that it was a Brahman dynasty which superseded the family of Diwaij, and there is no reason to suppose that Diwaij was himself a member of that caste.

The same Persian work, from which the above extract is taken, states that the reigns of these five Rais lasted for the long period of one hundred and thirty-seven years, and that Chach, by victory over Mahrat, Rana of Chitor, established himself on the throne about the first year of the Hijra. It will be seen from the following Note, that as this date must

of necessity have been placed too early, the year 10 H. has been preferred, as the era of Chach's accession, and the extinction of the Rai dynasty.

Pottinger, on the authority of a native work called the *Masma'-i Waridat*, states that the dynasty had endured for two thousand years; which, as we know from Ptolemy and the *Periplus* that the country was subject to frequent revolutions at the early period of our era, and at the time of Alexander was under no single ruler, must be regarded as pure fiction. If we allow that there were really five reigns, there is no great improbability in assuming 137 years, as above mentioned, for the correct period of their duration and thus we should obtain the Christian year 495 as that in which the dynasty commenced.

It is generally assumed that Khusru Naushirwan was the king of Persia by whom Siharas II. was slain, but as Naushirwan died in 479 A.D., it would leave at the very least 53 years necessary for the reign of Siharas II. even supposing that his predecessor was killed in the very last year of Naushirwan, which we know cannot have been the case, as that potentate had been, for some time previous, employed in the western portion of his large empire. It is therefore quite evident, that king Nimroz has been wrongly interpreted to mean that great Persian monarch, and we must therefore use Nimroz in its usual application of Sijistan, and allow the opponent of Siharas to be no more formidable a personage than the governor, or ruler of that province, or, if we must necessarily have a Persian king notwithstanding that no one of the name of Nimroz ever sat on the throne then Khusru Parviz (591-628 A.D.) an equally great conqueror, would answer all the requirements better, for we know that the eastern provinces towards the Indus revolted in the reign of Hormuz, his father and predecessor, and his recovery of them seems indicated by his having 960 elephants in his train--which could only have been procured from India.

¹In one passage he is styled "Barshah Nimroz," and a few lines afterwards "Shah Fars Nimroz." It will be seen from a passage quoted in the succeeding note, that Hormuz is represented as "the son of Fars" in the Chach-nama, it would appear therefore that in that work "Fars" is identical with "Naushirwan."

Doubtless, Naushirwan did invade Sind or its borders, because the fact is vouched for by unquestionable authority in the best Persian annalists, and is shown by the relation political, commercial, and literary, which appear then to have arisen between Persia and India; but it must have been during one of the earlier reigns of this dynasty; or if during the reign of Siharas II., it must have preceded the attack which resulted in that monarch's death. That he and Naushirwan were contemporary, during some portion of their reigns, is by no means improbable—for the latter reigned 48 years; and if we allow 40 for the reign of Sahasi II., and 40 likewise for the reign of Siharas II.—the same period which Chach enjoyed, though his first years were signalized by internal rebellions and foreign invasions—we shall then find the 20 first years of Siharas's correspond with the 20 last years of Naushirwan's reign.¹

It would detain us too long to enter upon any speculations respecting the country and race whence this dynasty derived its origin. I will merely remark, that the Scythian barbarians from Sind, who expelled the Gehlotes from Balabhipura in the beginning of the sixth century,—the Yeu-tehi, who re-established themselves on the Indus about the same time,—the Ephthalites, or white Huns, whom Cosmas declares at that period to have ruled upon the banks of that river,—and the Sah dynasty of Surashtra,—all offer points of relation, comparison and contact, to which a separate dissertation might be devoted.²

¹ Compare *Firdusi*, *Shah-nama*, ed. Macan, p. 1632; *Pottinger*, *Travels in Belochistan*, p. 386; *Schlegel*, *Indische Biblioth.*, Vol. I, p. 203; *De Guignes*, *Hist. des Huns*, Tom II p. 469; *Malcolm*, *Hist. of Persia*, Vol. I p. 141; *Tod*, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I pp. 232-9; *C. F. Richter*, *über die Arsac und Sassan Dyn. ap. Erdk. v. Asien*, Vol. IV part 1, p. 524; *Gladstein*, *Ayeeen Akbery*, Vol. II p. 118; *As. Res.*, Vol. IX, *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. III p. 385; *Elphinstone*, *Hist. of India*, Vol. I p. 400; *Böhlen*, *das alte Indien*, Vol. II, *Ancient Univ. Hist.*, Vol. IX pp. 305-9, 312, 318; *L. Duboué*, *L'Univers Pittoresque*, "La Perse," pp. 327, 328.

² *Melch. Thevenot*, *Rec. d. Voyages curieux*, Part 1 pp. 21, 22; *Montfaucon*, *Coll. nova Patrum*, Vol. II pp. 132, 179, 337-9; *As. Res.*, Vol. IX p. 113; *Tod*, *Ann. of Raj.*, Vol. I, pp. 216-9, II 311-2; *Western India*, pp. 83, 147-9, 214, 268, 271; *Wilson*, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 407; *T. Benfey*, *Indien*; *Lassen*, *Indische Alterthums*, Vol. II; *F. Baudry*, *Encycl. Moderne*, Tom XVIII, col. 153; *Reinaud*, *Fragments Arabes*, p. xxx.; *Mem. sur. l'Inde*, pp. 104, 124-7; *Journal*

THE BRAHMAN DYNASTY

Though we have no reason to complain of any want of detail respecting the political transactions of this dynasty, yet we are left in considerable doubt respecting the chronological adjustment of the few reigns which it comprises, and even name of Chach is a subject of some uncertainty. Gladwin has "Juj;"⁶ Briggs has "Huj;"⁷ the two Manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale have "Hoj,"⁸ Reinaud spells the name "Tchoteh;"⁹ Renouard leans to "Jaj," as he considers it a corruption of Yajnya;¹⁰ S. de Sacy gives reasons for considering it to be "Hijaj;"¹¹ Pottinger writes "Chach;"¹² and he is followed by all English authors. This is certainly in conformity with native usage, and we have several existing instances of the same combination as Chachpur, Chachar, Chachagam, Chachu, Chachar, and similar names of places in the valley of Indus.

It is to this usurper I am disposed to attribute the introduction of the game of chess to the western world; and this question invites us to some further considerations respecting the correct mode of writing his name. Although Frisusi informs us, that it was an ambassador of the king of Kanauj who introduced this game at the court of Naushirwan,¹³ the statement of Ibn Khallikan seems more to be relied on, when he says that Sassat, son of Dahir,¹⁴ invented the game during the reign of the Persian king Shahram.

A. S. B., *Vol. II* pp. 480, 684, *Vol. I* 338, 1837, pp. 377, et seq., *Journal R. A. S.*, *Vol. II* p. 398, *Vol. I* 351, 439, B. Nicholson, *ib.*, *Vol. XIII* pp. 146-163, J. de St. Martin, *Etudes de Géographie ancienne*, *Tom. I*, p. 245, *Thomas' Princip.*

⁶ Aycen Akbery, *Vol. II* p. 119.

⁷ Ferishta, *Vol. II* p. 401.

⁸ *Fragments Arabes*, p. xxvii.

⁹ *ibid.* and *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 125-153.

¹⁰ *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, v. 1, *Scand.*

¹¹ *Journal des Savants*, 1840, p. 225.

¹² *Travels in Belochistan*, pp. 317-9.

¹³ *Shah-nama*, ed. Macon, *Vol. II* pp. 1719-1734 - Hyde, *Historia Shahiludin*, pp. 69-92, reprinted in the *Syntaxma dissertationum*, *Vol. II*.—Freret, *Mém. de l'Acad.*, *Tom. I* p. 250—Görres, *Heldenbuch von Iran*, *Vol. II*, p. 452—Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, *Vol. II* p. 67, et seq.

¹⁴ According to the *Chach-nama* Chach was the son of Silatj, son of Basabas.

It is true that we have to notice here an error in the parentage, as well as a contradiction with himself; for, in another place, he assigns the invention to Balhit, whom he makes a contemporary of Ardashir, son of Babak, who reigned 'four centuries before Shahram'¹—but the main statement seems to be upheld by independent testimony, and it will be seen, from Tabari's sequence of these Persian reigns, that Chach must necessarily have been contemporary with Shahram, or Shahr Iran, or Shahriyar, as he is otherwise called.

The name of "Sassa" assumes the various forms of "Sissa," "Sahsaha," "Susa," "Sisa," and "Sa'sa." Bland, in his learned article quoted below, says they are all obviously corruptions of Xerxes, or of a name which has served as its origin—not the Persian king, but a philosopher so named, who is said by Polydore Virgil and others to have flourished in the reign of Evil-Merodach at Babylon. I look upon this as too recondate, and consider that the transposition of the parentage above alluded to, as given by Ibn Khallikan [and Biladuri¹⁶], is more than countervailed by the superior authority of Tabari; who, while he omits all notice of Chach, under that identical name, yet mentions Sassa, (who cannot possibly be meant for any other person than Chach), and speaks of Dahir, his son, as being his successor¹⁷ Firishta also speaks of Dahir as the son of Sa'sa', so that we are fully entitled to consider "Sassa," as the Arabic mode of representing "Chach"—just as we have "Shanak" for the Hindi "Chank," "Shatranj" for "Chatur-anga," "Sin" for "Chin," "Shash" for "Chach," a town on the Jihun,¹⁸ and many other similar conversions in the Arabic—since, there being no palatine letter corresponding with *ch* in that language, recourse can only be had to the sibilants; as may frequently be observed even in the Persian also, where no such necessity exists¹⁹

¹ *De Slane*, Biographical Dictionary, *Vol III* p. 71, et seq.; *Gilde-merster*, de reb. Indics, p. 141. *Hyd.* ut supra, V. Bland, *Journal R. A. S.*, *Vol VIII* pp. 13, 14, 20, 26, 62. [D. Forbes, *History of Chess*]

¹⁶ [Biladuri mentions "Sasa" "son of Dahir"]

¹⁷ Tabari, in *Mem. sur l'Inde*, pp. 176-179

¹⁸ *Shah-nama*, ed. Macan, pp. 982, 1659, *Geogr. d' Abou-l Feda*, *texte Arabe*, p. 494

¹⁹ See *J. A. Fuller*, *Institut Lingue Persice cum Sansc. et Zend comparate*, pp. 18, 26, 47

Another preliminary question to settle respecting Chach, relates to his tribe and descent. There could have been no hesitation on this point, had it not been for the Chinese traveller, Hwen Tsang, who states that, at the time of his visit to Sind, the king was of the "Shu-to-lo" race.¹ This has been variously interpreted to mean a "Kshatriya,"² a "Sudra,"³ and a Rajput of the "Chatar," or "Chitor," tribe. This latter is on the supposition that it refers to the king who was succeeded by Chach, and who was related to the ruler of Chitor—but this is not admissible, for the Chinese Buddhist did not commence his travels till 628 A.D., and after traversing the whole of Chinese Tartary, Turkistan, Northern Afghanistan, Kashmir, the valley of the Ganges, the Eastern and Western Coasts of the Peninsula, and Guzerat, could not have reached Sind much before 640, when Chach was fully established upon the throne. If we could introduce the traveller into Sind before Chach's accession, I should prefer "Kshatriya," or the modernized "Chattri" to any other interpretation of "Shu-to-lo," but, seeing that not a single Chinese name within, or on the borders of Sind, admits of any positive identification, we need not trouble ourselves about the meaning of this doubtful word. Our Arab and Persian authorities leave us no room to doubt that Chach was a Brahman—at least by descent, if not also by religious persuasion, and the present Sarsut (Saraswata) Brahman of Sind claim him as one of their progenitors.

[According to the *Chach-nama*, Chach was a Brahman who was introduced to Sahast Rai by his Chamberlain. Being taken into service, he won the confidence of the Rai, and the more tender regards of the Rani, his wife. He became Chamberlain, and on the death of the Rai, he ascended the vacant throne, and married the widow, whose

¹ *Foe-koue-ki of Remusat*, p. 205.

² "Reve le titre d'Attiarum," *Geddenster derch Ind*, p. 14.

³ "Le roi qui sans doute, était Tchatch appartenant à la caste des Soudra," *Remaud, Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 153. [See *Stanley Julien, Hienou Tsang*, Tom. II. 170.]

⁴ *Lt. Burton, Smth*, p. 380.

⁵ *Klaproth* says he travelled between 630 and 640—*Revue des Chinesischen Buddhisten*, H. T. c. *Remaud* says, between 628 and 645—*Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 149—*Lt. Stanley Julien* in his valuable translation just published (1853), gives the period more accurately between 629 and 645.

love he had previously rejected. The irregular succession provoked the resentment of Mahrat, chief of Jaipur (or Chitor), a relation of the deceased Rai, who marched with his army to destroy the usurper and recover "his inheritance." In great perplexity Chach conferred with the Rani, who shamed him into resistance by proposing to change garments, and herself to lead the army against the foe. Chach then went forth to battle, and when the forces met, Mahrat came forward and proposed, as the matter was purely a personal one, to settle the dispute by single combat. Chach represented that he was a Brahman, and unaccustomed to fight on horseback. His magnanimous foe then alighted to meet him on equal terms, when Chach treacherously sprung upon his horse and slew his adversary before he could recover from the surprise. After this Chach appears to have felt no Brahmanical repugnance to war and bloodshed.]

With respect to the period of his reign, we learn from the *Chachnama* that Chach in or about the year 2 H. —and about the fourth year after his accession²⁷—advanced to Kirman, being instigated to that measure by the fact of the Persian throne being then occupied by a woman.

Again, we learn (MS. p. 70) that Chach had been ruler of Sind for thirty-five years, when Mughaira attacked Debal, some time between the years 13 and 16 H.

After Chach had reigned forty years, he was succeeded by his brother Chandar, who died in the eighth year of his reign.

Chandar was succeeded by his nephew Dahir, who was slain in the month of Ramazan, 93 H.

The *Tarikh-i Sind* (MS. pp. 14-30) has briefly abstracted the account in the *Chach-nama*, but has given no date throughout, and has carelessly omitted all notice of Chandar.

The *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* gives a far better abstract of the *Chach-nama*. It represents (MS. p. 6) that Chach, after

²⁷ It may be proper in this place to remark, that *Al Biruni* mentions the establishment of a Sindian era, which commences with the winter solstice of 625 AD—3 AH. As M. Remaud justly remarks, that the commencement of a new era generally indicates a change of dynasty, he is disposed to attribute the establishment of the Brahman dynasty to this year.—*Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 147

killing Mahrat, the prince of Chitor, established himself on the throne in the year 1 H.—that he reigned forty years (*ib.*)—that Chandar, who succeeded him, died in the eighth year of his reign (*ib.*)—that Dahir was killed in the year 93 H., after having reigned thirty-three years (MS. p. 15) and that the whole period of the Brahman dynasty lasted ninety-two years (*ib.*)—which, however, is a manifest inconsistency, because in the detail, no more than eighty-one years, at the most, are assigned to the three reigns.

There seems reason to believe that these discrepancies can be reconciled by two very slight corrections in the reading of the *Chach-nama*.

Instead of "thirty-five years," in the first quotation, we should read "three or five years," as the period that Chach had reigned, when Mughaira attacked Debal. The form of expression is very common in denoting an infinite period; and, as the disjunctive particle *or* is in such uses of distributive numerals, always omitted, the difference in the reading becomes scarcely perceptible.

And in the first quotation, instead of "about the year 2 H.," I would read "about the year 10 H.":—*Dah* for *do*. The reading of *do* is quite out of the question, for there certainly was no female reign at so early a period as the second year of the Hira, and none even before the tenth, if indeed so early. The confusion respecting these ephemeral reigns of the later Sassanians is notorious, and especially respecting the order of the three queens, Turan-dukht, Azurmi-dukht, and Dukst-zanan—the last of whom is generally altogether omitted, and is perhaps identical with Azurmi-dukht;—but no author attempts to place either of them before 10 A.H. Now, since the *Chach-nama* represents that the queen mentioned by him was one of the successors of Kisra-bin-Hormuz-bin-Fars, who had been murdered—alluding, of course, to Khusru Parviz—and since we learn from a passage in Tabari that one of Kisra's daughters was Dukht-zanan, who succeeded to the Persian throne for a short time in the year 13 H.;—and since the *Rauzat-u-s Safa* assigns the reign of Turan-dukht, another of his daughters, to the year 14 H.—we may assume as

certain that the expedition of Chach towards Kirman occurred in one or other of those years.²⁶

These simple emendations bring us close enough to the truth, to satisfy us with respect to the general accuracy of the *Chach-nama*. Where there is so much room for doubt and where even Tabari is not quite consistent with himself, or in conformity with others, even if the *Chach-nama* should be in error three or four years—and we have no right to assume that such is the case—there would still be no ground for impeaching the veracity of that valuable chronicle; and we are thus enabled with considerable confidence to assign to each event of the Brahman dynasty of Sind its proper date, according to the Hijra computation.²⁷

A H

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*The advances of the Arabs towards Sind*²⁸

Scarcely had Muhammad expired. when his followers and

²⁶ "Is all three queens—if, indeed, there were three—were daughters of Khosro Parvaz, and as all their reigns are comprised within two, or, at most, three years, it matters little which we select

"For the doubts which prevail respecting the proper period, sequence, and names of the Sassanian princes between Siroes and Yazdegerd, see besides Mirkhond, Khondamir and the Persian authorities—J. S. Asmann, *Bibliotheca Orient.* Clement-Vat., Tom III., p. 419, *Eutychii Annales*, Vol II pp. 253, 257, 408, Malcolm, *History of Persia*, Dubou, *L'Univers Pittoresque*, "La Perse," pp. 333-6; *Hol. Gesch. der Chahfen*, Vol I pp. 63-65, and the *Tables in the Ancient Univ. Hist.*, Vol IX pp. 211-277; *Dr Smith's Dict. of Biog.*, v. "Sassanides," *Moreri*, *Grand Diction. Historique*, Tom II., p. 136, v. "Perse," *D'Holbelot*, *Biblioth. Or.*, v. "Sassanian," and *Enc. Metrop.* "Early Or. Hist.," p. 414. [Wodtmann in *Zeitschrift D. M. G.*, Vols VIII and XII, M. K. Patkauan in *Jour. Asiatique*, 1866, p. 220.]

²⁷ [I note in Sir H. Elliot's private copy shows that he intended to revise this article, after an examination of Tabari, and, in fact, to make Tabari's account the basis of his own. The editor was at first disposed to realize as far as possible this intention, but as the whole of Tabari's history is now in course of translation, and will ere long be published, under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society, it has seemed preferable to let Sir H. Elliot's work stand as he himself penned

disciples, issuing from their naked deserts, where they had hitherto robbed their neighbours and quarrelled amongst themselves, hastened to convert their hereditary leads into the spirit of unanimity and brotherly love. Their energies, at all times impetuous, were now solely concentrated upon executing the injunctions of the "king of fierce countenance, understanding dark sentences,"²¹ that they should enforce belief at the point of the sword, which was emphatically declared to be "the key of heaven and of hell."²² Terror and devastation, murder and rapine, accompanied their progress, in fulfilment of the prophetic denunciation of Daniel, that this descendant of Ishmael²³ "shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people" and through his policy, also, he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and stand up against the Prince of Princes.

And so it was, that, within twenty years, they made themselves masters of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia. The conquest of Persia was a mere prelude to further extension in the east; and though a more difficult and inhospitable country, as well as internal dissensions checked their progress for some years afterwards, yet it was not in the nature of things to be expected that they should long delay their attacks upon the rich and idolatrous country of India, which

it. There is in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society a MS. History of Sind, from the commencement of the Arab conquest. It enters into full details drawn, like Sir H. Elliot's, from Syrian authorities.

²¹ Daniel, ch. viii. 23.

²² Compare Chapters ii. iv. viii. ix. xvi. xvi. xvi. of the Koran. See also Sale, *Koran Prolegomena*, p. 194, *Fane*, *Selects* from the Koran, p. 70, *Keland*, *De Jure Militari Arabum*, p. 7, et seq.

²³ Gibbon's gratuitous scepticism respecting the Ishmaelitic origin of the Arabs has been well exposed in App. I. to Foster's *Mahometanism Unveiled*. See also Faber's, *Cyclopedia of Prophecy and Christ's Second Advent of Christ*. Occasionally, however, these authors carry the argument too far. Brucker has also originated the Bible genealogy of the Arabs, Hist. Crit. *Philosoph.* I. ed. I. p. 214. Muhammad's own Ishmaelitic descent may admit of doubt, but that does not affect the question respecting the Arabs in the northern part of the peninsula. See Sprenger, *Life of Muhammed*, p. 1^{re}, Sale, *ibid.* *supra*, p. 11, *Renaud's Sarrazins*, 231.

²² Daniel, ch. viii. 24, 25.

offered so tempting a bait to their cupidity and zeal. Accordingly, attention was early directed to this quarter, and it will be our business now, in collecting some of the incidental and scattered notices which betray the settled purpose of the Arabs to obtain a looting in India, to trace the slow but certain progress of their arms, until it issued in the conquest of Sind by Muhammed Kasim.

Abu Bakr, A.H. 11–13. A.D. 632–634.

'Umar, A.D. 13–23. A.D. 634–643.

Under the Khilalat of 'Umar,—A.H. 15 or 16,—a military expedition set out from 'Uman, to pillage the coasts of India. It appears to have proceeded as far as Tana, in Bombay. As 'Umar had not been consulted on the expedition, he forbade that any more should be undertaken to such distant parts; and to 'Usman Bin Asī Sakifi, governor of Bahrain and 'Uman, under whose orders the piratical vessels had been despatched, he signified his displeasure in very marked terms:—"Had our party," he wrote, "been defeated, be assured that I would have taken from your own tribe as many men as had been killed and put them all to death".

About the same time, Hakam, the brother of 'Usman, who had been placed in charge of Bahrain, sent an expedition against Broach, and despatched his brother, Mughaira Abiul-'Asi, to the bay of Debal, where he encountered and defeated his opponents, according to the *Futuhu-l Buldan*; but the *Chach-nama* represents that he was slain. That work also mentions that the naval squadron was accompanied by troops, that Debal was occupied by merchants, and that the governor, Samba, son of Diwaij, had been nominated to that post by Chach, who at that time had ruled thirty-five¹ years in Sind (MS p. 70).²

Shortly after, Abu Musa Asha'ri, who had been one of the companions of the prophet, and was otherwise conspicuous in the history of that period, was appointed governor of Irak (Basra), when Rabi, bin Ziyad Harisi, one of his

¹ *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*, MS p. 9, *Gladwin's Ayeen Akbery*, Vol II. p. 118; *Memoire sur l'Inde*, p. 170.

² [This is the statement of the MS, but in page 412 reasons are given for proposing to read "3 or 5" instead of 35.]

officers, was sent to Makran and Kirman. Orders were also despatched to Abu Musa, from the capital of the empire, directing him to afford all the information in his power respecting Hind, and the countries leading to it. As he had lately learnt the disastrous result of Mughana's expedition, he wrote in reply to say, that "the king of Hind and Sind was powerful and contumacious, following the path of unrighteousness, and that sin dwelt in his heart" Upon which, he received peremptory orders not by any means to enter upon a holy war with that country."

It is notorious that 'Umar had always a particular horror of naval expeditions, and it is probable that it arose from this untoward defeat. This repugnance is usually attributed to a later period, when, upon the conquest of Egypt by 'Amru bin 'Asi, the Khalif wrote to his lieutenant for a description of the sea; who replied "The sea is a great pool, which some senseless people furrow, looking like worms upon logs of wood" On receipt of this answer, it is said, 'Umar forbade all navigation amongst the Muslims, and transgressors were severely punished. Mu'awiya was the first Khalif under whom this prohibition was relaxed, and who despatched maritime expeditions against the enemies of his empire. The original cause of the restriction was probably that which has been already indicated, and its continuance may perhaps be ascribed to the unskilfulness of the Arabs upon the element to which the subjects of the Greek empire were accustomed from their birth. Had the Muslims along the shores of the Mediterranean been as expert as the Arab navigators of the Indian ocean, there would have been no need to feel alarm at the result of actions upon the high seas."

In the year 22 H., 'Abdul-lla bin 'Amar bin Rabi' invaded Kirman, and took the capital, Kuwashir¹⁷ so that the aid of "the men of Kuj and Baluj¹⁸" was solicited in vain

¹⁷ Chaeh-nama, MS. p. 70

¹⁸ A passage in Procopius, Bell. Pers. i. 19, 20, seems to shew that, in the time of Justinian, the Hionites of the Euxinean sea were no great navigators. The question has been examined in another note.

¹⁹ See Fuller's Geschichte der Seldschuken, p. 75.

²⁰ The Arabic and Persian Lexicons say they were barbarous tribes, inhabiting the mountainous borders of Makran, and descended from the Arabs of Huzaz. In the latter are of course to be recognized the modern Buluch.

by the Kirmanis. He then penetrated to Sistan, or Sijistan, and besieged the governor in his capital, who sued for peace when he found that "his city was as a tent without ropes." After this he advanced towards Makran. In vain, also, did the chief of that country obtain the aid of the ruler of Sind, for their united armies were surprised and defeated in a night attack. With an ardour augmented by his success, 'Abdu-lla requested leave to cross the Indus; but the Khalif, true to his cautious policy, which restrained his lieutenants both on the northern and western frontiers, opposed this still more distant adventure.⁹⁸

The invasions of this year are confirmed by Hasan bin Muhammad Shirazi, who is a careful writer; but the names of the generals are differently represented. "In the year 22 H. Sijistan was conquered by 'Amru bin al Tamimi and 'Abdu-lla bin 'Abdu-lla bin 'Umar Khattab. In this year also, Makran was conquered by 'Abdu-lla bin 'Unan, who had moved against that place from Kirman. The ruler, who in the native language was styled Zambil, and was also king of Sind was killed."⁹⁹

The names are otherwise given in the *Habibu-s Siyar*. Kirman was conquered by Suhail bin Udi and 'Abdu-lla bin Autiban, Sijistan by 'Asim bin 'Amru Tamimi, and Makran by Hakkam bin 'Amar Saulbi. The conquests are also ascribed to a year later. Shohrug, the lieutenant of Fars, was forced to yield his province to the victorious Muslims; upon which, Mujashra bin Mas'ud, took possession of the cities of Sirjan and Jiruft, while 'Usman bin Abiul-' Asl advanced to Istakhar. In the same quarter, Sauria bin Zannim, employed with a separate division on the route from Istakhar to Kirman, experienced a more determined resistance. In besieging one of the strongholds into which the natives had thrown themselves, he was suddenly attacked by a sally from the garrison, as well as by a numerous body of Kurds who had advanced to their relief, and was only saved through the aid of a miracle. In the end, however, the Muslims were victorious. These are evidently all the same transactions, designed by change of names,—

⁹⁸ *Tarikh-i Guzida*, quoted in *Memories sur l'Inde*, p. 171.

⁹⁹ *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh under the Khilafat of Umar*. The name of Zambil is treated of under the History of the Ghaznvides.

the "Kurds" of the *Habib-us Siyar* being the "Kuj" of the *Guzida*.

Dr. Weil, following Tabari, gives other variations, and remarks upon Abu-l Fida's and Elnacim's (Al Makin's) omission of the conquest of the Persian provinces in the south. The general's name is 'Abdu-lla bin Attab "Kulep," or "Kufess," is given instead of "Kuj." The invasion of Makran is ascribed to 23 H., in which same year, it is said, the conquest of Fars was brought to a conclusion. The capture of Shiraz is also mentioned, although it is ordinarily supposed not to have been built till seventy years afterwards by Muhammad Kasim.¹¹

'Usman, A.H. 23-35 A.D. 643-655

'Usman bin Abu-l 'Asi was not very rapid in his conquest of the province of Fars, for he was repulsed before Istakhar, and it is not till the year 26 H. that we find him taking Kazerun and the still famous Kila-i sufed or white fort, between Istakhar and the Persian Gulph.¹² The whole province does not seem to have been reduced till 28 H.

In A.H. 30, a formidable insurrection took place at Istakhar, when the Musulman governor fell a victim to the fury of the people. The fugitive king of Persia, Yazdjird, hastened to the scene, in the hope of retrieving his miserable fortunes; but after being nearly surprised among the ruined columns of the ancient palace, he was defeated with great loss by 'Abdu-lla bin 'Umar and 'Usman, near that capital, and compelled to fly to Kirman, and afterwards to Sijistan and Khurasan. The citadel of Istakhar was carried by assault, and many of the ancient Persian nobility, who had sought an asylum within that fortress, were put to the sword.¹³

During the next year, the pursuit of Yazdjird was followed up into Khurasan under 'Abdu-lla bin 'Amar, then governor of Basra, after obtaining the permission of the Khalif to advance into that country. The southern provinces of

¹¹ *Geschichte der Chahfen*, Vol. I, pp. 95-98.

¹² *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 2, *Princ.* 139-156. Kanizatus Safa.

¹³ *Abulpharazm Dynast.* p. 116, *Habib-us Siyar*. Heil *Geschichte der Chahfen*, Vol. I, p. 163, but compare also the Appendix, p. 721, in Vol. III, where the circumstances are stated differently, after Biladari.

the Caspian not having yet been finally conquered, it was considered the more feasible route to march by way of Fars and the borders of Kirman, and so advance through the desert. A rebellion which then existed in the latter province was quelled by a detachment of one thousand horse under Mujashia. Rabi' bin Ziyad Harisi was, at the same time, despatched to secure the obedience of Sijistan, in which province he received the submission of the metropolis, Zaranj; and 'Abdu-ila himself, having compelled the city of Tabbas to surrender on capitulation, entered the Kohistan, where he met with a sturdy resistance; but ultimately, with the assistance of Ahnaf bin Kais, he took Hirat, Sarakhs, Talikan, Balkh, Tukharistan and Naishapur, and brought the whole province of Khurasan under subjection.¹¹

Firishta attributes to the following year a proselyting expedition to the eastward, which is said to have been despatched from Baghdad; but as that town was not built for more than a century afterwards, no great value can attach to his sources of information. Baghdad did not become the seat of the Khilafat till the time of Abu Ja'far Al Mansur, in 148 A.H. 765 A.D. The three first Khalifs established themselves at Medina. 'Ali, in 36 H., chose Kufa as his metropolis; and in 41 H., the Umayyides constituted Damascus their capital, and so it continued during the whole period of their dynasty, which expired in 132 H., when Abu-l Abbas seated himself at Anbar, on the Euphrates,¹² and his successor, Al Mansur, after remaining a few years at Hashimiya, in the same neighbourhood, finally established himself at Baghdad, where the seat of the Khilafat continued, with occasional transfers to Samarra, till its extinction by Hulaku in 656 H.—1258 A.D.

The same kind of error frequently occurs in Persian authors respecting the government of 'Irak, or of the two

¹¹ *Ferishta, Vol. I p. 3, Price, Retrospect of Mahommedan History, Vol. I p. 161, Biladuri, in Geschichte der Chalifen, Vol. I, Anhang, pp. 18, 8.*

¹² *This was the original capital of the kings of Hira, before they removed to the latter town. It was destroyed by the soldiers of Julian. Respecting its position, see Dr. Gustav Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen, Vol. I p. 35. Its successive ruins at various periods are to be seen the Castle of, Fehuqa. See also D'Arville, L'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 71; D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient., v. "Confah."*

'Iraks, 'Arabi and 'Ajami, in writing of the period treated of in this note. It was seldom that the government of the two 'Iraks, and rarely that the whole of even 'Irak-i 'Arabi, was centred in the same individual. This province, which may be considered to correspond with Babylonia, contained the two chief military cantonments of Kufa and Basra. The former town was of some antiquity, and the seat of an Arabian prince before the time of Muhammad, but the latter was founded in A.H. 15, chiefly with the view of interrupting the communication with the Persian Gulph, and preventing the flight of the royal family of Persia by the sea route to India.⁴⁶

It was not till the time of Mu'awiya, that these two important places were entrusted to the charge of one person. By him their government was bestowed upon his bastard brother, Ziyad, of whom we shall find frequent mention in the following paragraphs. By the succeeding Khalif they were, after some interval, conferred upon 'Ubandu-lla bin Ziyad.⁴⁷ The two governments were once more combined in the person of Hajjaq, who was invested with greater power than any of his predecessors.⁴⁸

To revert to the eastern conquests. Darabgard, which together with Fasa was taken in 23 H., subsequently revolted, and was again taken in 28 H.

Abdu-lla' Amar, who was a cousin of the Khalif, and had succeeded the popular Abu Musa Asha'ri in the government of Basra, thinking the opportunity favourable for extending the Muhammadan conquests in the east, obtained permission to detach Hakim bin Laballa al Abdi

⁴⁶ Compare Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.* Vol. I. pp. 39, 72, 77, 84, and *Inhara*, p. 11; Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien* Vol. V. *Konow and Art. Persia*, in *Encyclop. Metropolitana*, *Prætor*, *Malabar* of *Al-Ham*, p. 37.

⁴⁷ Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, pp. 369, 387, 391.

⁴⁸ The succession to these governments may be traced in the following passages of the first volume of Price's *Mohammedan History*: *Kufa*, pp. 128, 137, 152, 153, 168, 184, 191, 192, 262, 379, 383, 9, 392, 426, 445, 524, 536, 543; *Basra*, pp. 123, 146, 159, 163, 184, 191, 192, 220, 319, 379, 381, 385, 389, 392, 429, 439, 440, 451, 460, 529, 543, 548. And in the first volume of Weil's *Geschichte der Chahfen*, *Kufa*, pp. 85, 135, 171-2, 176, 195, 369, 411, 428, *Anh.* p. 11; *Basra*, pp. 72, 173, 195, 169, 277, 353, 366, 411, 611.

⁴⁹ *Biladuri*, ap. Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.* Vol. I. *Inhara*, p. 11.

to explore Sijistan and Makran, as well as the countries bordering on the valley of the Indus; but it appears that Hakim reported so unfavourably of the vast regions which he examined, that all idea of conquest in that direction was abandoned.—“Water is scarce, the fruits are poor, and the robbers are bold. If few troops are sent there they will be slain; if many, they will starve.” The discord which prevailed among the Musulmans after the death of ‘Usman, was an additional reason for not prosecuting any adventures in so remote a region; but private adventure does not seem to have been debarred and was no doubt, prosecuted under the tacit consent of the Khalif⁵⁰

‘*Ali* A.H. 35-40 A.D. 655-660

Hasan, A.H. 40-41. A.D. 660-661.

Under the succeeding reign of ‘*Ali*, it is related, on the authority of ‘Amar bin Haris bin ‘Abdu-l Kaus, that Taghar bin Da‘ir was appointed to the charge of the frontier of Hind, and an army was placed under his command, comprising a select body of nobles and chiefs. Towards the close of the year 38 H, they marched by way of Bahraj and Koh-Paya, obtaining on the road great booty and many slaves, until they reached the mountains of Kakan or Kai-kanan, where they met with a stout resistance from the inhabitants, of whom no less than twenty thousand had assembled to intercept their progress through the passes. But when the Arabs shouted out “Allahu akbar,” and their voices re-echoed from the hills to the right and left, the infidels, hearing these shouts of triumph, were confounded and alarmed. Some came forward and embraced Islam and the rest took precipitately to flight. From that time to the present, says the credulous author, voices proclaiming that God is great, “Allahu akbar,” are heard at the same season throughout these mountains. It was upon this occasion that Haris bin Marra, distinguished himself by his bravery. “They were engaged in this victory when they were informed of the martyrdom of ‘*Ali*; and on their

⁵⁰ Memorie sur l’Inde p 172, Chach-nama. MS p 72, *Tidwatu-l Kiram*, MS p 9

return, when they arrived at Makran, they learnt that Mu'awiya bin Abi Sulyan, was Khalif.⁵¹

This is, no doubt, the same expedition which Biladuri attributes to Harab bin Maria Al 'Abdi, that is, a man of the ancient and powerful tribe of 'Abdu-l Kays (the *Abucai* of Ptolemy), which was established in Bahrain, and devoted itself chiefly to piracies on the high seas. The same country has always been prolific of such enterprises, until they were effectually repressed by the British Government in India. The name of Al 'Abdi shows that the preceding narrative is founded on the authority of a member of that tribe, and 'Amar, being perhaps a son of the very Haris, the hero of the story, family pride may have suppressed all notice of the defeat. Harab's adventure commenced and ended at the same times which are mentioned in the preceding paragraph, but the result is represented very differently. At the opening of the campaign, he was so successful, that in a single day he divided one thousand captives amongst his adherents. Nevertheless, he was in the end completely defeated in the country of Karkan, and only a few Arabs survived to tell the tale of their disasters.

Col. Tod mentions that the generals of 'Ali made conquests within the kingdom of Sindh itself, which were abandoned at that Khalif's death, but he does not give his authority for this improbable statement.

DYNASTY OF THE UMMAYYIDS

A.H. 41-132 A.D. 661-750

1. *Mu'awiya*, A.H. 41-60 A.D. 661-679

Under the Khalifat of Mu'awiya, the first of the Umayyides, we are informed by a respectable authority, that 'Abdu-r Rahman conquered Sindh in the year 42 H. It seems, however, probable that the expedition here alluded to is the one which occurred two years later, under Muhullah, one of 'Abdu-r Rahman's officers, and which is more

⁵¹ Chach-nama, MS., p. 73, Tuhfat-ul Kiran, MS. p. 9

⁵² Annals of Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 242

⁵³ Tarikh-i Yafi'i, sub ann. 42 a

fully recorded in a subsequent Note upon the advances of the Arabs on the Kabul frontier.

In A.H. 46, 'Abdu-lla bin Suar, who was about that time entrusted with the command of the Indian frontier on the side of Kaikan, and "who was so generous and hospitable that no other fire but his own was ever lighted in his camp," enriched himself with the spoil taken from the eastern borders; and when he returned to Mu'awiya, presented that Khalif with some of the horses of Kaikan. He remained some time with Mu'awiya, and then returned to Kaikan, where, being attacked by the Turks with all their forces, he was slain in the conflict.⁷⁴

The *Chach-nama* adds, amongst other details of this expedition, which need not be here given, that Mu'awiya appointed 'Abdu-lla bin Sawariya, at the head of four thousand cavalry, "to the government of Sind," and said, "in the country of Sind there is a mountain which they call Kaihanan. There the horses stand very high, and are well made in all their proportions. They have before this time been received among the spoils taken from that tract. The inhabitants are treacherous, and are protected by their mountain fastnesses from the effects of their rebellion and enmity." He sent also 'Amar bin 'Abdu-lla bin 'Amar to conquer Armael. After sustaining a complete defeat from the Kaikanis (called Turks by Biladuri), who swarmed around, and closed their egress by the passes, the remnant of the Arab army returned to Makran.

This is related on the authority of "Muhlat, who heard it from Hindali, who reported it on the authority of Kasim, who said, 'I heard it from Nasr bin Sufyan.'" This Hindali is frequently mentioned in the *Chach-nama* as a transmitter of these traditions.

The statement of the next incursion is somewhat confused.

Upon the death of 'Abdu-lla, Sinan bin Salma was appointed to succeed him; but Mu'awiya wrote to Ziyad, the powerful governor of Irak, who also held the lieutenancy of Khurasan, Sijistan, Bahrain, and 'Uman, besides Kufa and Basra, directing him to select a man better suited

⁷⁴ *W'il, Geschichte der Chahfen, Vol. I p. 291.*

⁷⁵ *Chach-nama, MS., pp. 74, 75, Tuhfatu'l Kiram, MS., p. 9*

to command on the marches of India. Accordingly, Sinan was superseded by Ahnaf Kais, "the ablest among the true believers," who went to Makran, but was removed after a period of two years and one month. Hindali is again one of the authorities for this account."

By Biladuri this is otherwise represented. Ziyad bin Abu Sufyan raised Sina bin Salama to the command of the Indian frontier. He was a man of merit, and feared God, and was the first who obliged soldiers to affix to their oath the penalty of divorce from their wives. On proceeding to assume charge of his functions, he reduced Makran, and founded cities in that country. He established his residence there, and exacted a rigorous account of the revenues of the province. By Ibn Al Kalbi this conquest is attributed to Hakim, above mentioned.

Ziyad then raised Rashid bin 'Amru, of the tribe of Azd, to the command. Rashid went to Makran, and thence made a successful inroad upon Kakan, but was subsequently slain in an attack upon the Meds. He is said to have been succeeded by the Sinan before noticed, who exercised his functions for two years."

"Abu-l Hasan heard from Hindali, who had heard from Bin-i Aswad," that when Ziyad had suspended the son of Salama from his functions, Rashid bin 'Umar Al Khizzi, a man of good birth and of noted courage, was summoned to the presence of Mu'awiya, who seated him by the side of his throne, and entered into long and familiar discourse with him. He pointed out to his officers that Rashid was an excellent man, to whom then obedience was due, and that they should aid him in the battle and not leave him alone in the field.

When Rashid arrived at Makran, he had an interview with Sinan, respecting whom he asseverated with an oath that he was a great man, well worthy to head an army in the day of battle. Sinan had received orders from Mu'awiya to meet Rashid on the road, and to communicate to him full information respecting the state of Hind and Sind. When Rashid had duly learnt this, he determined on prosecuting his route towards the frontier, and having received

¹⁰ Chach-nama, MS. f. 76

¹¹ Weir, Gesch. der Chal., Vol. I. f. 201

the revenue which had been assessed upon Koh-Paya, he went on to Kaikanan, where he collected the tribute due for the current and preceding years, and brought away much plunder and many slaves.

After a stay of one year, he returned by way of Siwistan, and reached the hills of Mandar and Bahraj, where the inhabitants had assembled to the number of fifty thousand to obstruct his passage. The contest raged from morning till evening, when Rashid was martyred.

Ziyad appointed Sinan to take his place, and bestowed great honours upon him, notwithstanding he had so lately been disgraced, because, as our author says, he had been blessed at the time of his birth by the prophet, who had himself bestowed the name of Sinan upon him. After advancing to Kaikanan, he met with great success, and established his rule in several countries, and at last reached Budha, where he was by some treachery put to death.²⁸

Ziyad then conferred the command of the Indian frontier upon Al Manzar bin al Jarud al 'Abdi, who was surnamed Al Asha'as. He invaded Nukan (Budha?) and Kaikan; and the Arabs were enriched with booty,--for the whole country became a prey to their devastations. They seized upon Kusdar, where they made many captives. Al Manzar died in that town.²⁹

2. *Yazid I.*, A.H. 60-64. A.D. 679-683.

3. *Mu'awiya II.*, A.H. 64. A.D. 683.

In the year 61 H., we find mention of another governor of the Indian frontier, of the name of Al Manzar, or Al Munzir; but as the one before mentioned had been appointed by Ziyad, who died in 53 H. and as the second Al Manzar, or Al Munzir, was appointed by 'Ubaidu-lla bin Ziyad, who succeeded his father, after a short interval, in the government of Irak, including both Kufa and Basra, and as, moreover, the parentage is represented as entirely different, we must needs conclude that they are different personages. The one with whom we now have to deal was son of Har, son of Bashar, who "put on the vesture of government under evil auspices," for, as he was journeying,

²⁸ *Chach-nama*, MS., pp. 77, 78; *Tuhfatul Kiram*, MS., p. 9

²⁹ *Weil*, *Geschichte der Chal.*, Vol. I., p. 292.

his mantle was caught in a splinter of wood, and was rent; and 'Ubaidu-lla bin Ziyad, who had nominated him, predicted, on that account, that he would not return alive from the journey he had undertaken;⁶⁰ but he had selected him, as no one was his equal in constancy and courage. And true it was, that no sooner had Al Munzar arrived within the borders of Burani, than he fell sick and died.⁶¹

His son, Hakkam, was in Kirman, when his father died. He was treated with kindness by 'Ubardu-lla, who presented him with three hundred thousand dirhams, and appointed him to succeed his father for six months, during which period he is represented to have conducted himself with energy and boldness.⁶²

One of the commanders appointed to the Indian frontier by 'Ubaidu-lla, was Harri al Bahali. He engaged with great fervour and success in the border warfare and acquired immense booty.⁶³

4. *Marwan I.*, A.H. 64-65 A.D. 683-684.

5. *'Abdu-l Malik*, A.H. 65-86 A.D. 684-705

To the year 65 H. Colonel Tod attributes a Muhammadan invasion of Rajputana, by way of Sind, in which Manik Rai, the prince of Ajmir, and his only son were killed. But the whole story is puerile and fictitious, independent of which, the Arabs had quite enough to do nearer home.⁶⁴

When 'Abdu-l Malik the son of Marwan, ascended the throne, his dominions were circumscribed within the limits of Syria and Palestine, rebellion being rife in the various provinces. The east was especially affected by these internal commotions. Kufa was in the hands of Makkar and the Shi'ites, who had taken up arms to avenge the death of Husain, the son of 'Ali. The Azarikans, or followers of Nafi' ibn Azrak, had established themselves in the pro-

"And as Samuel turned about to go away, Saul laid hold upon the skirt of the mantle, and it rent. And Samuel said unto him, 'The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day.'" 1 Sam. vi. 27, 28

⁶⁰ Chach-nama, M.S., p. 72, Fuhtat-ul Kiran M.S., p. 9

⁶¹ Chach-nama, M.S., p. 80

⁶² Annals of Rajasthan, Vol. II p. 444

⁶³ W'il, loc. cit.

vinces of Fars, Kirman, and Ahwaz; and Arabia and Khurasan obeyed 'Abdu-lla ibn Zubair, the rival claimant of the Khilafat, who was in possession of Mecca. Within eight years after ascending the throne, 'Abdu-l Malik triumphed successively over all his enemies, re-established the authority of the Ummayyides over the Muhammadan empire, and began to restore the foreign relations of Islam, which had greatly declined during the early vicissitudes of his reign.

'Ubaidu-lla bin Ziyad, one of the ablest of his generals, invaded the territory of Kufa, but was defeated and slain in 67 H., by the army which advanced against him under Muktar. This disaster was not retrieved till four years afterwards, by 'Abdu-l Malik's obtaining possession of Kufa. Meanwhile, Muhallab had defeated the Azarikans, whom he had pursued into the very heart of Kirman, and deprived them of their conquests in Fars and Ahwaz. He then deserted 'Abdu-lla's cause, and submitted to 'Abdu-l Malik. Khurasan was obtained by similar corruption and treachery, and 'Abdu-lla was slain at Mecca by the army commanded by Hajjaj bin Yusuf Sakiff. Thenceforward, 'Abdu-l Malik had leisure to attend to the extension of the empire towards the east.

To this especial object was directed his nomination of his successful general, Hajjaj, to be governor of 'Irak, who commenced his rule by conferring the charge of Makran upon Sa'id bin Aslan Kalabi. Sa'id, however, had unfortunately to encounter the rivalry of Mu'awiya and Muhammad, the sons of Haras, surnamed the 'Allafis, from the title of 'Alaf, which was borne by one of their ancestors.

As the 'Allafis, or 'Allanis as they are styled in the *Chach-nama*, are conspicuous in the subsequent history of Sind, that work dwells more particularly upon their history. It appears that upon Sa'id's arrival at Makran, he put to death a man of the name of Safhui bin Lam al Hamami. This man was claimed as a relative and fellow-countryman of the 'Allafis, who came from 'Uman, and they determined to seek satisfaction for his death. Accordingly, they attacked Sa'id, who was then on his return from collecting the revenues of his jurisdiction, killed him in the fray, and took possession of Makran. Hajjaj then

ordered Sulaiman 'Allafi, one of the leading men of that tribe, to be seized, and sent his head to the family of Sa'id. At the same time, more vigorous measures were taken to assert the authority of the government, and Mujja' was directed to proceed to Kirman. He sent forward 'Abdu-rahman bin Asha's to lead the advance, but he was way-laid by the 'Allafis, and slain. They did not, however, think proper to engage in further collisions with the government, but fled to Sind in 85 H., where they sought the protection of Dahir, who received them kindly, and entertained them in his service.⁶⁵

The 'Allafis remained in Sind till the arrival of Muhammad Kasim, when they came forward and sued for forgiveness, which was accorded to them, as will be seen in the translated Extracts from the *Chach-nama* which is published in *Historians of Sind*, Vol. I.

Sa'id was succeeded by Mujja', the son of the Si'r Tami-mi, most probably the same Mujja' above mentioned, who is called in the *Chach-nama* and the *Tuhfatu-l Knam*, the son of Sa'id, as well as the son of Safar in the former, apparently by error of the transcriber. He despoiled the border districts, and took many prisoners from the territory of Kandabel, the entire conquest of which was not effected till some years afterwards by Muhammad Kasim. Mujja', after holding his office for the period of only one year, died in Makran, about the same time as the Khalif 'Abdu'l Malik.⁶⁶

6. *Wahd I.* A.H. 86-96, A.D. 705-715.

Under this powerful prince the Khilafat attained the greatest extent of dominion to which it ever reached. A little previous to the accession of Wahd, Muhammad, son of Harun, was appointed to the Indian frontier, where he was invested with full powers to conduct operations as he thought best.⁶⁷

He was directed to search out the 'Allafis, and to seize them by every means within his power, in order that the

⁶⁵ *Chach-nama*, MS., pp. 80, 81, and *Tuhfatu-l Knam*, MS., pp. 7, 9.

⁶⁶ *Chach-nama*, MS., p. 82, *Tuhfatu-l Knam*, MS., pp. 7, 9, Weir's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I, p. 504.

⁶⁷ *Chach-nama*, MS., p. 82.

blood of Sa'id might be avenged by their death and destruction. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 86,⁶⁸ he secured one of the 'Allafis, who was put to death by direct orders of the Khalif, and his head was despatched to Hajjaj, with a letter, in which the governor promised, "if his life were spared to him, and his fortune propitious, he would seize all the rest of that obnoxious tribe." He was engaged, according to one author, for five years, according to another, for five months, in the important occupation of "conquering the rivers and forests."⁶⁹

Under the auspices of the cruel tyrant, Hajjaj, who, though nominally governor only of 'Irak, was in fact ruler over all the countries which constituted the former Persian kingdom, the spirit of more extended conquest arose, which had hitherto, during the civil wars, and before the re-establishment of political unity under 'Abdu-l Malik and his son Walid, confined itself to mere partial efforts on the eastern frontiers of the empire. By his orders, one army under Kutaiba, after the complete subjugation of Khawarazm, crossed the Oxus, and reduced, but not without great difficulty, Bukhara, Khojand, Shash, Samarkand, and Farghana—some of which places had been visited, though not thoroughly subjected, at previous periods, by the Muhammadan arms. Kutaiba penetrated even to Kashgar, at which place Chinese ambassadors entered into a compact with the marauders.⁷⁰ Another army had, by Hajjaj's directions, already operated against the king of Kabul, and a third advanced towards the lower course of the Indus, through Makran.

The cause of this latter expedition was the exaction of vengeance for the plunder, by some pirates of Debal, of eight vessels, which the ruler of Ceylon had despatched, filled with presents, pilgrims, Muhammadan orphans, and Abyssinian slaves, to propitiate the good-will of Hajjaj and the Khalif. The pirates are differently named by authori-

⁶⁸ Firishtha says he was not appointed till 87 H.—*History of Sind*.

⁶⁹ *Chach-nama*, MS., pp. 82, 83, *Tuhfatu-l Kwam*, p. 10.

⁷⁰ Hammer, *Gemaldevaal*, Vol. II pp. 123, 124, Abel Remusat, *sur la Geog. de l'Asie centrale*, pp. 94-106. Compare also, respecting the relations between the Persians and Chinese, De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, Tom. I., pp. 54-59, Freret, *Memoires de l'Acad.*, Tom. xvi., pp. 245-255, *Chine in Une Pittoresque*, Asie I. 297.

ties whom we have to follow. The *Futuhu-l Buldan* says they were "Med." The *Chach-nama* says they were "Tangamara." The *Tuhfatu-l Kham* says they were "Nongamara;" but in a subsequent passage gives the name more distinctly as "Nagamara." 'Abdu-lla bin 'Isa, who wrote a commentary upon the Diwan of the poet Jarir, towards the close of the fourth century of the Hijra, says they were "Kurk," for which a marginal reading substitutes "Kurd." Reiske states his inability to comprehend what tribe is meant by this name. Reinaud says, "Kurds" are out of the question;⁷¹ but that "Kurks" are mentioned by Ibn Al Asir, under the annals of 151 H., as having made a descent upon Jidda, and that two years afterwards a flotilla was despatched from Basra to make an attack upon the "Kurks," whom he surmises to be probably natives of Coorg, to the east of Mangalore.⁷² But these are an inland nation, and cannot possibly have been engaged in maritime expeditions. Whoever they were, they must have been inhabitants of Debal, or its immediate neighbourhood, and though the name be extinct now, the Kurk, Kerk, or Kink, may possibly represent a tribe which flourished at one time near the mouth of the Indus.⁷³

The Meds are familiar to us, as being frequently mentioned by Ibn Haukal and the early writers on Sind.⁷⁴ The name of Tangamara presents great difficulties, but as there is a variation about the first letter, and as the omission of diacritical points would admit of the word being read Sangamara, it may be proper to point out, if that should be the correct reading, the identity of the two first syllables with those of Sangada, which Arrian tells us was the name of the mainland in the neighbourhood of Krokala.⁷⁵ How

⁷¹ They are, however, a very migratory race. We find them in Khurasan, Kabul, Fars, Kerman, the Dehli, the dailat, and even in Sind, in the province of Kachhi (Gandhara), where they are classed as Brahmins. It is also worthy of remark that Ibn Haukal speaks of some of the inland Jats as being "like us to the Kurds." Goldmeier's *Scriptor. Arab. de rebus Indis*, i. 181.

⁷² *Memoire sur l'Inde*, p. 181.

⁷³ See separate note respecting the Kurks.

⁷⁴ The Meds are also treated of in a separate note.

⁷⁵ Ek de krukalam en dezim men ekhoites opo... oplwon... d de khwras a pas Saggada—*Nearchi Paraphrasis*, p. 5, in Hudson's *Geographical Minores*, Vol. I.

far the name extended does not appear, but it is curious that, to our time, it seems to be preserved beyond the eastern mouth of the river, in the celebrated pirate-coast of the Sanganyans, or Sangars, who for centuries have committed their ravages on the shores of Sind and Guzerat until their total suppression under our government.⁷⁶ It may be remarked, also, that there is a tribe called Sangar still dwelling on the coast of Makran, at Malan and Batt.

It is probable, therefore, that the several authorities may be right in part, and that the different piratical tribes of the mouths of the Indus may have joined in the expedition which gave Hajjaj grounds for demanding reparation from Dahir, the ruler of Sind.

Upon his declaring his inability to restrain their excesses, Hajjaj earnestly solicited from the Khalif permission to exact due vengeance from Dahir and his subjects, offering to pay, from his own resources, double what would be exhausted from the public treasury. But the Khalif replied.—“The distance is great, the requisite expenditure will be enormous, and I do not wish to expose the lives of Muslims to peril.”⁷⁷ In the same spirit of caution, or forbearance, Musa was checked in his career of conquest in Spain; and when the remonstrance was disregarded, a second envoy, despatched with more peremptory orders, seized the bridle of his horse in the presence of the whole army, and led him away to Damascus to answer for his contumacy.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ The principal station of the Sangars is Juckow, in Kachh. Al Hamilton says —“The next province to Catchnaggen (Cach-nagar) is Sangama. Their seaport is called Baet, very commodious and secure. They admit of no trade, but practice piracy.” Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. VIII. p. 310. See also Ovington and D’Anville. Tod says the name was not that of any particular nation, but simply “Sangamdharians,” the pirates of the “Sangams,” or sacred embouchures of rivers —*Hist. India* p. 442. “Sankha,” or “Sankhadwar,” the old name of Bet, offers an equally probable origin. Mac Pherson (*Ann. of Comm.* 1, 172) suggests Sangata, the joined canoes mentioned in the Periplus.

⁷⁷ Abu-l Fida, *Annal. Mosl.*, Vol. 1. p. 107, *Chach-nama*, MS. p. 85, *Tuhfatul Kiram*, MS. p. 10.

⁷⁸ Conde, *Hist. de la Dom. de los Arabes en Esp.*, ap. De Marles; Reinaud, *Sarrasms*, xviii., Crichton, 336.

When, at last, the repugnance of the Khalit had been overcome by the urgent remonstrances of Hajjaj, and by his generous offer of double payment, which was at a subsequent period rigorously demanded, 'Ubadu-lla bin Nabhan, was sent against the sea-port of Debal, where he met with defeat and death.⁷⁹

Hajjaj then wrote to Budail, of the Bajali tribe, directing him to advance against Debal. As Budail was at 'Uman M. Reinaud considers it probable that he proceeded by sea to his destination; but the *Chach-nama*, though somewhat confused, is fuller than the *Tutuh-i-Buddan* and tells us that Budail was ordered to proceed to Makran, that Muhammad Harun was directed to place three thousand men at his disposal, for the purpose of proceeding to Sind, and that 'Abdu-lla bin Kahtan Aslam was ordered to join him from 'Uman, which he accordingly did at Nairun. Budail advanced at the head of three hundred men from Makran, and was joined on the way by the reinforcements from Muhammad Harun. In the battle which ensued, Budail, after fighting gallantly, was thrown from horse, surrounded by the enemy, and killed, and many Muslims were taken captive. The *Tutuh-i-Buddan* and the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* represents the action as having taken place at Debal, but the *Chach-nama* is not clear upon this point.⁸⁰

Hajjaj was sorely afflicted at this disastrous result of his expedition, and vowed that he would take ample vengeance for the various indignities which had been heaped upon him. As the people of Nairun dreaded the consequences of Hajjaj's anger, and reflected that their city stood on the very road by which the Arabs would enter Sind, their governor, who was a Samani or Buddhist, sent privily some confidential messengers to Hajjaj promising to remit tribute

⁷⁹ Biladuri, *Fragments Arabes*, p. 190.

⁸⁰ Briggs gives the leader's name as "Badmeen" Remond a "Bodayl." It Postans as "Bazl." The *Chach-nama* as "Baz" or "Buzail." [Biladuri gives it distinctly "Budail."] As "Budail" is an old Arabic name, it is probably the correct reading in the passage. Compare Ferishta, Vol. IV, p. 473. *Fragments Arabes*, p. 190; *Journal A.S.B.*, No. cym., p. 85. *Chach-nama*, MS., pp. 85-86. *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*, MS., p. 8. *Wien. Geschichte der Chahiden*, Vol. I, p. 504; Sale, *Koran*, Vol. p. 138.

regularly, and soliciting from him some writing, under which Nairun might be secured from further annoyance at the hand of the Musulmans. This bond was readily granted, and the Samani was enjoined to obtain the freedom of the prisoners taken in the late action, with the threat of "putting to the sword of Islam the lives of all infidels as far as the borders of China, if this demand was not complied with."

After this, 'Umar bin 'Abdu-lla requested that the government of Hind might be confided to him, but he was rebuked by Hajjaj, and told that the astrologers, after being consulted, had pronounced that the conquest of that country could be effected only by the hand of Muhammad Kasim.⁸¹

Muhammad Kasim, as he is universally styled by the Persians, but by Biladuri, "Muhammad bin Kasim Sakifi," and by Abu-l Fida, "Muhammad bin Al Kasim," was in the bloom of youth, being only seventeen years of age, when this important command was conferred upon him. It is probable that, although he is represented to have already administered the province of Fars with ability, he obtained his appointment less from personal merit, than from family interest, for he was cousin and son-in-law of Hajjaj; but the result showed the wisdom of the selection. His rapid career of conquest along the whole valley of the Indus, from the sea to the mountains, has been fully narrated in the translations from the *Futuhu-l Buldan* and *Chach-nama*. From them it is evident, that his successes, like those of his contemporary, Tarik, in Spain, were as much attributable to his temper and policy as to his courage and strategy. There was, though by no means little—as Debal and Multan bear witness—yet much less, wanton sacrifice of life than was freely indulged in by most of the ruthless bigots who have propagated the same faith elsewhere. The conquest of Sind took place at the very time in which, at the opposite extremes of the known world, the Muhammadan arms were subjugating Spain, and pressing on the southern frontier of France, while they were adding Khwarazm to their already mighty empire. In

⁸¹ *Chach-nama*, MS., p. 86, *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*, MS., p. 8.

Sind, as in Spain, where submission was proffered, quarter was readily given, the people of the country were permitted the exercise of their own creeds and laws; and natives were sometimes placed in responsible situations of the government. Much of this unwonted toleration may, in both instances, have arisen from the small number of the invading force, as well as from ignorance of civil institutions; but we must still allow the leaders credit for taking the best means of supplying these deficiencies, and seeking assistance from the quarters most able to afford it.²

The two authorities above-mentioned differ from each other in some particulars, and the *Chach-nama*, which is the source of the Persian accounts, furnishes a few details, wearing, especially towards the close, the appearance of embellishment; but there is no startling discrepancy in the general history of the conquest, of which the broad features are preserved with fidelity in both narratives.

The Persian authorities, following the *Chach-nama* mention that Muhammad Kasim penetrated to Kanauj, which, as the borders of that country then extended nearly to Ajmir, is no improbable circumstance, if we do not construe the expression to signify literally that the city of Kanauj was conquered. But even the possession of that great capital would not have satisfied the ambitious aspirations of Hajjaj; for he had ordered Muhammad to penetrate to China; and with the view of exciting emulation between him and Kutaiba, had promised that whichever of them arrived there first should be invested with the government of the celestial empire—a fair challenge and a fair start,—for in the self-same year, one was on the Indus, the other on the Jaxartes, in the same longitude, and at the same distance from the eastern goal, which fanaticism and avarice, as well as the desire to secure a safe and remote asylum upon the death of Walid, had designated

² Respecting Spain, see De Montes *Histoire des Arabes en Espagne*, Tom. I. p. 14, 111-401, Lockhart's *Spanish Ballads*, xvii. Tarik's moderation was by no means imitated by his early successors. The soldiery plundered the towns, devastated the country, and profaned the churches. A native historian has remarked that the miseries of the vanquished constituted the happiness of the victors. Mariana, *De rebus Hispaniæ*, Lib. vi, c. 19.

to these rival generals as the guerdon of success and victory.⁸³

The Progress of the Arabs in Sind

From faith in Firishta, who has been followed exclusively by our modern historians, it has been usual to consider that the conquest of Sind was effected by only six thousand men, who, by some misapprehension of the original, are wrongly stated to be Assyrians. The more correct statement, given by our Arab authorities, shows that, independent of an advanced guard under Abu-l Aswad Jaham, which was ordered to join Muhammad Kasim on the borders of Sind, there were six thousand picked cavalry from Syria and Irak, six thousand armed camel-riders, thoroughly equipped for military operations, with a baggage train of three thousand Bactrian camels, which, however, Mir Ma'sum converts into three thousand infantry. In Makran, Muhammad Kasim was joined by the governor, Muhammad Harun, with other reinforcements: and five catapults, together with the necessary ammunition, were transported by sea to Debal. The number of men conveyed by the naval squadron may be estimated by the fact, that we find one catapult alone requiring no less than five hundred men to work it. These heavy machines had been used by the Prophet in the siege of Taif, and had done effective service only a few years before at Damascus and Mecca, as well as in the re-conquest of northern Africa; but they were so ponderous that they could be rarely used, except where the means of transport by water existed, or but a short distance by land had to be traversed. Hence Kutaiba, in his campaign beyond the Oxus, was often compelled to regret that a long and tedious land-carriage deprived him of the advantage of these implements, which were nearly indispensable in the operations in which he was engaged.

Besides these Arab troops, we find the Jats and Meds enlisting under Muhammad Kasim's banners, which, independent of its moral effect in dividing national sympathies, and relaxing the unanimity of defence against foreign

⁸³ *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 186; *L'Univers* *Polit. Asie*, v. 327.

aggression, must have been of incalculable benefit to him, in his disproportionate excess of cavalry, which could be of but little service in a country intersected by rivers, swamps, and canals.

This desertion of the native princes was doubtless occasioned by the severity with which they had treated the Jats and Lohanas upon the capture of Brahmanabad. The inhibition of riding on saddles and wearing fine clothes, baring the head, the accompaniment of a dog, the drawing of and hewing wood for the royal kitchen, were more suited to Musulman intolerance than the mild sway of Hinduism; and accordingly, after the conqueror's first acquisitions, we find him so indifferent about retaining the good will of his allies, that he imposed the same conditions upon them, which he enforced with even greater stringency than his predecessors.

After the news of Muhammad Kasim's success reached Damascus, he was joined by other troops and adventurers eager for plunder and proselytism, insomuch that when he left Multan, for the purpose of proceeding to Dipalpur and the north, we find it stated in the *Tarikh-i Sind* and *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*, that he had no less than 50,000 men marching under his standard, besides those whom he had left in the forts and garrisons of Sind. Hence we may see, that paucity of numbers was by no means so much against the chance of Muhammad Kasim's success as has hitherto been supposed.¹

There is no occasion here to follow this conqueror through all the rapid stages of his successful career. These will be found fully set forth in the translations from the *Chach-nama* and *Futuhu-l Buldan*, which furnish details hitherto wanting in the authorities accessible to us. Abu-l Fida and Abu-l Faraj tell us merely that Hind was conquered by Muhammad Kasim in the year 94 H. Ibn Kutaiba, ascribes the conquest to 93 H., but gives no particulars. Elmacin (Al Makin) only tells us that Hind and Sind were conquered, and that King Dahur was slain by the Musulmans, and had his head cut off; and Weil gives the following as the sum of all that the great historian Tabari has to say upon this theme: "In the year 90 (?)

¹ Elphinstone's *History of India*, Vol. I. p. 510

Muhamamad ibn Kasim, whom Hajjaj had appointed to command an army, slew the king of Sind, named Dass ibn Sassa. In the year 94, Muhammad ibn Kasim conquered India. In the year 95, the farthest India was conquered, with exception of Kiraj and Almandal.⁸⁵ A like complaint has been made of the meagreness of our modern writers with respect to this interesting period of Indian history, but without just cause, for they really had no documents to appeal to.

Though Muhammad left Shiraz in the year 92 H., he does not appear to have reached Debal till the beginning of the following year. The precise date is not mentioned, yet Hajjaj replies to the announcement of its capture, on the 20th Rajab, 93 (1st May, 712 A.D.); so, as news between Sind and the capital is said to have been conveyed in seven days, the fall of Debal may be dated in the beginning of that month.⁸⁶

After the conquest of the capital Alor, in Ramazar of the same year, the *Futuhu-l Buldan* carries him no further than Multan, from which place he returns on hearing of Hajjaj's death, but the *Chach-nama* takes him to the very foot of the Kashmir hills, to the part where the Jhelam debouches from the mountains, and forms the streams and islands which cannot fail to strike the traveller with the minute correctness of Quintus Curtius, in describing (viii. 45) the scene of Alexander's decisive victory over Porus, after passing the Hydaspes. In the *Chach-nama*, the place is called *Panj-mahat*, or "The Five Waters," - a miniature Panjab, in short. It was here that Chach fixed the boundary of Sind and Kashmir; and the planting of fir-trees, to mark the site, shows how elevated a spot the conquerors had reached in their northern progress.

The balance of authority is perhaps in favour of Jalalpur, as the place of Alexander's crossing the Hydaspes: argument and ocular demonstration conclusively decide in favour of the upper passage; but we need not discuss the

⁸⁵ *Geschichte der Chalten*, Vol. I pp. 161, 184, 188, 506, *Annales Moslemes*, Vol. I p. 148, *Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 201, *Historia Sapacema*, p. 84.

⁸⁶ *Tuhfatul Kiram*, MS., p. 1

point further. The literature of the question may be ascertained by consulting the references in the note.⁵⁷

The Khalif Walid died six months after Hajjaj, in Jamada I. A.H. 96—A.D. January, 715, and as Muhammad Kasim's recall was immediately consequent upon that event, he must have remained altogether about three years and a quarter in Sind and the Panjab.

Our authorities differ respecting the mode of Muhammad Kasim's death; but it must be admitted that there is much more probability in the statement of the *Lundhu-l-Buldan* than in that of the *Chach-nama* which is followed by all the later writers. The former states that he was seized, fettered, imprisoned, and tortured to death with the Khalif Sulaiman's sanction; the latter, that the two daughters of Dahir, who had been sent to the capital for the Khalif's haram, complained that they had already been violated by their father's conqueror, upon which, Walid, in a fit of wrath, ordered that he should be sewn up in a raw cow-hide, and so transmitted to Damascus. When his body was exhibited to the girls, they declared that their assertion was untrue, and that they had uttered it merely to be avenged on the destroyer of their family and country. The tale goes on to say, that the capricious tyrant, in an agony of remorse for his hasty conduct, ordered them to be immured alive. Others say they were tied to horses' tails, and so dragged about the city.⁵⁸ The whole story certainly savours more of romance than reality, but the reason which has been advanced against it—namely, that

⁵⁷ Droysen, *Geschichte Alex's*, p. 289. Born, *Travels to Bagdad*, vol. I, p. 57, Ritter, *Erzkunde von Asien*, vol. IV, pt. 1, pp. 452-4, n p. 93, Elphinstone, *Cambul*, p. 80. Wilford, *Life of Alex*, 4th ed., *Trans. R. A. Soc.*, vol. 4, pp. 148-199, H. L. Philco, *Journal of S. Bengal*, 1843, p. 628, J. Abbott, *Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, pt. 1, XVIII, ed. 1852, pp. 219-231.

⁵⁸ The account given in the *Chach-nama* has been already printed; the following is from Mu. Masum. It is to be seen that both these authorities represent the Khalif Walid as the destroyer of Muhammad Kasim. "At that time a letter came from the Khalif Walid to his effect—'After taking Alor you sent to the capital, among the prisoners, two daughters of Raja Dahir, in charge of Muhammad the son of 'Ali Tuhman Hamadan; accompanied by Abyssinian servants. One night the Khalif had the two girls brought into his haram, and he then gave them into the charge of the bedchamber attendants, with orders to pay them every attention, and present them

the sewing up in a hide was a Tatar mode of punishment and not Arab—constitutes no valid objection; for, though it undoubtedly was practised by the Tatars—as when the savage Hulaku murdered the last Khalif of Baghdad—yet an earlier example might have been discovered in the Arab annals. Even before the time of the Sind conquest, we find the adherents of the first Mu'awiya enclosing the body of the governor of Egypt in the carcass of an ass, and burn-

when they had recovered from the fatigues of their journey. Two months afterwards the Khalif remembered these two Hindu slaves, and ordered them to be brought into his presence. An interpreter accordingly summoned them. When their veils were thrown back, the Khalif, on seeing them, became distracted with admiration at their great beauty. He then asked them their names, one said her name was Parmal-Devi, the other said her name was Suraj-Devi. The Khalif ordered the attendants to leave one of them there. She then rose and said 'I am not fit for the bedchamber of the Khalif because Muhammad bin Kasim dishonoured us both before he sent us to the Khalif.' When the interpreter explained this, the fire of anger and jealousy was kindled in the Khalif, and he gave orders that as a punishment for this want of respect, Muhammad bin Kasim should be wrapped up in the raw hide of an ox, and be sent to the capital. To enforce this order, the Khalif wrote some words of menace in the margin of the letter in his own hand, 'Whosoever Muhammad bin Kasim may be, when this reaches him he is to come to the capital, and make no fail in obeying this order.' Muhammad bin Kasim was at Udhapur when the Khalif's chamberlain brought this mandate. When he had read it he directed that officer to carry the order into effect. He accordingly wrapped Muhammad bin Kasim in a raw hide. Three days afterwards the load of life left his body and flew to heaven. The chamberlain put the body into a box, and carried it to the capital. When he arrived in Syria, he brought the box before the Khalif on a day of public audience. The Khalif enquired if Muhammad were alive; the chamberlain replied that he had been enclosed in a raw skin, and that he died three days afterwards. The Khalif then directed the box to be taken into the female apartments, and ordered that it should be opened there in his presence. He then called for the daughters of Raja Dahur, and said 'Come and see how supreme are my commands. Behold Muhammad bin Kasim! They both came forward to look at him and recognised him, and raising their hands, they blessed and praised the Khalif. They then said, 'Kings of great justice should not proceed hastily in perilous matters, nor act precipitately upon the information of friends or enemies in the most important of all concerns.' When the Khalif enquired what was the meaning of their address, they replied 'We raised this charge against Muhammad bin Kasim out of enmity to him because he slew our father, and through him dominion and wealth have departed from our house, we have come as prisoners into a foreign land, the king in his anger did not receive our words

ing both to ashes.⁸⁹ And as for the general tone of romance which runs through this version of Muhammad Kasim's death, we find a case somewhat parallel in contemporary history; for, when Musa, the conqueror of Spain, was treated with similar indignity by Sulaiman the same relentless Khalif who persecuted the conqueror of Sind, and was lingering in misery and exile at Mecca, the head of his son, who had been murdered at Cordova, was thrown down at his father's feet, while the tyrant's messenger taunted him in the midst of his agony and despair."

CONTINUATION OF THE UMMAYYIDE DYNASTY

7. Sulaiman, A.H. 96-99 A.D. 715-717

Yazid, who was appointed to succeed Muhammad Kasim died eighteen days after his arrival in Sind. Habib, the son of Muhallab, was then appointed to pursue the war in that country; for, in the interval, the princes in India had revolted, and Jaisiya, the son of Dahir, had regained possession of Brahmanabad. The local historians, indeed, tell us that, for two years after the departure of Muhammad Kasim, the natives recovered and maintained possession of the countries which had been conquered from them. Habib encamped on the banks of the Indus, and the inhabitants of Alor submitted to him, after he had defeated a tribe which opposed him in arms.

nor distinguish between our truth and a falsehood, but issued his fatal order. The truth is, this man says to us, as a father to a son, his hands never touched the souls of our party, our object was to revenge our father, and so we made the accusation. Our wishes have been fulfilled, but there has been a serious failure in the King's justice. When the Khalif heard this he was overwhelmed with remorse for a while, but the next moment he cast from the furnace of his bosom, and he gave orders for the two sons to be tied to the tails of horses and after being drawn round the city to be thrown into the Tigris (Daila). Muhammad bin Kasim was buried at Damascus. Two years after his death the people of India rebelled, and threw off their yoke, and from Delalja to the Salt Sea remained under the dominions of the Khalif."

⁸⁹ Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen Vol. I. p. 242

⁹⁰ Cardonne, Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous les Domains des Arabes. Tom. I. p. 98. Gibbon, Chap. li.

'Amar bin 'Abdu-lla is also mentioned as one of the Sindian governors during this reign.⁹¹

8. *'Umar II.*, A.H. 90-101. A.D. 717-720.

The Khalif Sulaiman, who died A.H. 99—A.D. 717, was succeeded by 'Umai bin 'Abdu-l Aziz. 'Umar addressed letters to the native princes, inviting them to embrace Islam and to swear allegiance; proposing, as the reward of their acquiescence, that they should be allowed participation in the rights and privileges of other Musulmans. The son of Dahir, and many princes, assented to these proposals, and took Arab names. 'Amru bin Muslim al Bahali was the Khalif's lieutenant on this frontier, and he was successful in the invasion of several Indian provinces.⁹²

9. *Yazid II.*, A.H. 101-105. A.D. 720-724.

Under the reign of Yazid bin 'Abdu-l Malik, the sons of Muhallab fled to Sind with their families. 'Amru sent Halal at Tanimi in pursuit of them, and on his encountering the fugitives at Kandabel, he slew Mudrak, Mufazzal, Ziyad and all the sons of Muhallab, including Mu'awiya, who had placed Muhammad Kasim in chains. This happened in the year 101 or 102 H., and forms an episode of some interest in the civil warfare of the Ummayyides, which is fully recounted by the Arabic historians of that dynasty.

When Yazid, the son of Muhallab, had fairly committed himself to a contest with his namesake, the reigning Khalif he had, in order to extend his power, and procure an asylum in the event of defeat, despatched his agents to obtain possession of the several provinces of Ahwaz, Fars, Kirman and Makran, as far as the banks of the Indus. Kandabel, "on the remotest frontiers of the empire," he had especially consigned to the charge of Wadda ibn Hamid al Azdi, in order that he might ensure a safe refuge for his family in case of any disaster. His defeat and death shortly ensued,—upon which, Mufazzal and his other brothers, having

⁹¹ Tarikh-i Sind, MS., p. 37, Tuhfatu-l Kiram, MS., p. 18, Geschichte der Chalifen, Vol. I p. 571.

⁹² Memoire sur l'Inde, p. 191; Tuhfatu-l Kiram, MS., p. 18.

equipped at Basra a sufficient number of vessels for the conveyance of themselves and the surviving members of the Muhallabi family, embarked for the coast of Kuman, whence they proceeded, as originally designed, to Kandabel. There Wadda proved treacherous to his charge, and the whole family, it is commonly said, were extirpated in the action which took place under its walls, but some members, at least, must have survived; for, besides others of the same family, we read of one Yazid Muhallabi, fifty years afterwards, as governor of Africa, and his son, Daud, as governor of Sind.⁹¹ The women and children were sold into slavery, from which they were only redeemed by the humanity of a generous individual, named Jarrāh, the son of 'Abdu-lla.⁹²

10. *Hasham*, A.H. 105-125 A.D. 724-743

14. *Marwan II.*, A.H. 127-132 A.D. 744-750.

'Amru was succeeded in the command of the Indian frontier by Junaid, son of 'Abdu-l Rahman al Marri, in which appointment, originally made by 'Umar, the governor of 'Irak, he was confirmed by the Khalif Hasham, son of 'Abdu-l Malik.

From the mention of the "Sindian frontier," it would appear that the Arabs were still excluded from the province itself; and it is, indeed, said in the passage from the Indian historian quoted above, that the new converts again apostatized, and revolted against the government. Junaid proceeded to Debal, but upon his reaching the banks of the Indus, the son of Dahir opposed his passage, on the ground that he himself had been invested by the Khalif 'Umar with the government of his own country in consequence of having become a Muhammadan. A contest took place between them on the lake of As-sharki, when, the vessel of the son of Dahir being quite disabled, he was made prisoner, and subsequently put to death. Sasa, his brother, fled towards 'Irak, to complain of Junaid's conduct, but he also, having been cajoled by the perfidious promises of Junaid, was killed by that Amir.

⁹¹ *Ibn Khaldun*, in *Hist. de l'Afrique*, by M. Noel Desvergers, quoted in *Mem.* p. 194.

⁹² *Abu-l Fida*, *Ann. Mos.*, *Vol. I* p. 442, and note 207, *Esperu Elmacin*, *Hist. Sarac.* p. 78; *Princ. Muham. Hist.*, *Vol. I* pp. 531-543, *Weil. Geschichte der Chal.*, *Vol. I* p. 603.

Junaid sent an expedition against Kiraj, which had revolted. The walls having been demolished by battering rams, the town was taken by assault, and pillaged. He despatched his officers also to various other places, of which it is difficult to determine the names. They may be mentioned as Marmad,⁹⁵ Mandal,⁹⁶ Dalmaj, Barus, Uzain, Maliba, Baharimad, Al Bailaiman,⁹⁷ and Jurz; but in most instances, it is almost impossible to identify them, with any approach to certainty.⁹⁸ It is sufficient to observe that these several expeditions are represented to have been rewarded with immense booty, and that about this period the extension of the Arab conquests, both by sea and land, seems to be confirmed by passages in the Hindu, as well as the Chinese, chronicles.⁹⁹

Junaid was succeeded, about 107 A.H., by Tamim bin Zaid al 'Utbi, who had been previously sent to Sind by Hajjaj. He was found to be feeble and incompetent, but generous and profuse withal, having lavished no less than eighteen millions of *tatariya*¹⁰⁰ dirhams, which he found in the public treasury of Sind. He died near Debal, "at a place called Buffalo Water, because herdsmen drove their cattle into it, to protect them against the bears (*dabab*), which infested the banks of the Mihan." Under his government the Musulmans evacuated some Indian provinces, and, "up to this period," says Biladuri, "they have not recovered them all, and their settlements are not so far in advance as they had been previously."

After Tamim, the government was entrusted by Khalad, governor of 'Irak, to Hakim al Kalabi. The inhabitants of

⁹⁵ Had not Broach been subsequently mentioned, I should have conceived this word to be meant for the river Nerbudda (Narmada). It may be a mere repetition of the syllable which forms the root of *Marusthal*, "or great sandy desert," itself the origin of *Marwar*.

⁹⁶ See Note in *Historians of Sind* Vol II.

⁹⁷ "Nilman" probably. There is a "Nilhan" mentioned in the Chach-nama, and a "Nilma" in the Beg Lar-nama. The latter is midway between 'Umarkot and Jesalmer.

⁹⁸ Mem. sur l'Inde p. 192.

⁹⁹ *Ind. Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol I pp. 231, 242-250, 781; *Martean-lin*, in *Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques*, Tom I p. 196; *L'Asie de Pitt*, *Asie I.* p. 300, et seq.

¹⁰⁰ This word is supposed to be corrupted from the "Stater" of the Greeks [but see note in *Early Arab Geographers*].

Hind had relapsed into idolatry, except those of Kassa. Had they also followed the pernicious example, the Arabs would have been deprived of all retreat in case of danger. Hakim built a city on the eastern borders of a lake, which he named Mahfuza, "the guarded"¹⁰¹. He made this a place of refuge for the Muslims, established it as the capital, and resided in it. Hakim entrusted Amru bin Muhammad bin Kasim¹⁰² with an expedition beyond Mahfuza, from which he returned victorious, and when Amru was, in his turn, nominated governor, he founded a city "on this side the lake, which he called Mansura, 'the victorious,' and which is now," adds Biladuri, "the capital, where the governors reside."

Hakim recovered from the enemy some of the territories which had been lost; but, though the people were content with his government, he was murdered during his administration. The governors who succeeded continued the war against the enemy, and reduced to obedience many of the provinces which had revolted. The names of these governors are not mentioned by Biladuri, but the *Tuhfatul Kiram* says, respecting this period "Sulaiman, the son of the Khalif Hasham, on being put to flight in his action with Marwan, was appointed to Sind, which he ruled well, and remained there till the accession of the 'Abbasides when he hastened to pay his respects to Saffah. Abu-l Khattab also was appointed to Sind by Marwan"¹⁰³. The *Tarikh-i Sind* also mentions this latter appointment¹⁰⁴.

DYNASTY OF THE 'ABBASIDS

1. *Abu-l 'Abbas as Saffah.* A.H. 132-136 A.D. 750-754

When the 'Abbasides succeeded to the Khalifat, Abu Muslim entrusted the government of Sind to 'Abdu-r Rahman, who

¹⁰¹ The province of Las, above Sumatran Bay, answers well to this safe position of retreat, in the event of Arab discomfiture.

¹⁰² From this parentage we may consider him to be a son of the conqueror of Sind.

¹⁰³ *Tuhfatul Kiram* MS. p. 18.

¹⁰⁴ This may have been the same Abu-l Khattab who was governor of Spain in Marwan's time. There was also a contemporary Zaidi leader of this name — M. Quatrecas, *Journal Asiatique*, Jan. 1830, p. 131.

went to Sind by way of Tukharistan, and met on the frontier Mansur bin Jamhur, the governor on the part of the late Ummayyide Khalif.¹⁰⁵ 'Abdu-r Rahman was totally defeated, his army put to flight, and he himself slain.¹⁰⁶

Abu Muslim then conferred the governorship upon Musa bin K'ab ut Tamimi, who, on his arrival in Sind, found the Indus placed between him and Mansur. The rivals, however, managed to encounter each other, and Mansur and all his troops, though far superior to their opponents in numbers, were compelled to fly; his brother was slain, and he himself perished of thirst in the sandy desert.¹⁰⁷

Musa, when he became master of Sind, repaired Mansura, enlarged the mosque, and directed several successful expeditions against the infidels. According to the *Tuhfatul Kiram*, it was Daud bin 'Ali who expelled the Ummayyide governor.

2. Abu Ja'far al Mansur. A.H. 136-158. A.D. 754-775

About the year 140 H., the Khalif Al Mansur appointed Hasham to Sind, who conquered countries which had hitherto resisted the progress of the Muhammadan arms. He despatched 'Amru bin Jamal with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barada,¹⁰⁸ against which point, we are informed by

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Khaldun and Elmacin wrongly assert that he was appointed by Saffah—See Weil, *Geschichte der Chal.*, Vol II, p. 15

¹⁰⁶ [See note upon the coins of 'Abdu-r Rahman and others, in *Historians of Sind*, Vol II.]

¹⁰⁷ Hammer, *Gemaldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Vol II, p. 158 Weil, *Geschichte der Chal.*, ubi supra

¹⁰⁸ [This name has been rendered "Narand," elsewhere, after Goeje, but as the MS has no points, the word may be Barand, Barid, etc.] MM. Re naud and Weil despair about identifying this name. I believe it to be Barada, or Jettwar, on the coast of Guzerat, and the Barud, or Barua, of Bruin. Perhaps, also, it may have some connection with the Bar-ace of Ptolemy, and the Periplus. Barada stretches along the south-western shore of the Peninsula of Guzerat, between the divisions of Halar and Sorath. The port of Purbandar in Barada, is the great emporium of this and the neighbouring coasts on account of its favourable position. The town, which was captured in 160 H., and which is represented to have been a large one, was probably Ghumti, of which the ruins attract the curiosity of the traveller, and still continue to excite the devotion of the Hindus. Tradition says it stood a siege of seven or eight years, but the precise era of its destruction is not known.

Tabari and Ibn Asir, another expedition was despatched in 160 H., in which, though the Arabs succeeded in taking the town, sickness swept away a great portion of the troops, while they were stationed in an Indian port, and the rest, on their return, were shipwrecked on the coast of Persia, so that the Khalif Mahdi was deterred from any further attempts upon India.¹⁰⁹

A body of troops, at the time when Amru was employed against Barada, penetrated into "the kingdom of Hind, conquered the country of Kashmir, and took many women and children captive."¹¹⁰ The whole province of Multan was also reduced. At Kandabel, there was a party of Arabs, whom Hasham expelled from the country. They are suspected, with some reason, to have been adherents of 'Ali.¹¹¹

About this time, the Sindian Arabs engaged in a naval expedition against Kandahar,¹¹² at which place the idol-temple was destroyed, and a mosque raised upon its ruins. Here, again, we have greatly to reduce the distance within which these operations are supposed to have been conducted. M. Reinaud, in his earlier publication,¹¹³ in which he is followed by Dr. Weil,¹¹⁴ considered the place here indicated to be Kandhar, near the Gulf of Cambay; but, in his subsequent one,¹¹⁵ he inclines to the opinion that Gandhara, on the Upper Indus, is meant, of which Waihind was the capital. There is little probability of either being correct, and we need not look any further than the peninsula of Kathiwar, on the north-west angle of which is situated

¹⁰⁹ Frag. Arabes, pp. 3, 120, 212. *Gesch. der Chal. Vol. II. p. 117.*

¹¹⁰ This does not mean the present province of Kashmir. Hacer Tsang speaks of the Pamir, about 800 A.D. as being a dependency of Kashmir, and the upper portion of the plain country was frequently attached to that kingdom. The Kashmiris usually ignore these Sindian victories, and even misapprehend the geographical position of Ispahan. See Gildemeister, de rebus Indicis, pp. 1044. Memoir sur l'Inde, pp. 152-4, 188-191.—Stan Julien, *Histoire Universelle* I. 162.

¹¹¹ Corriga ex Tabari, ap. Kosegarten, *Christiana Athia*, pp. 98, 104. Conf. Fragments, 212, Mem. 193, *Gildemeister* 3. *Vol. II. 56.* Abu-l Fida, II. 28.

¹¹² [Goeje's text gives "Kandahar".]

¹¹³ *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 212.

¹¹⁴ *Geschichte der Chalifen, Vol. II. p. 56.*

¹¹⁵ *Memoire sur l'Inde*, p. 196.

Khandadar, one of the objects of our attack in 1809, when, unlike its neighbour, Malia, it surrendered to Col. Walker's detachment without resistance.

Under Hasham, the supreme authority was enforced with vigour throughout the whole country, and the people are represented to have lived in abundance and content.

The government of Sind was then bestowed upon 'Umar bin Hats bin 'Usman, a Sufrian, commonly called Hazar-mard.¹¹⁶ This must have been previous to 151 H., for in that year we find him transferred to the government of Africa, where he was killed in the year 154 H. He was succeeded in the African government by Yazid bin Hatim, or bin Mazid Muhallabi, while Ruh, the brother of Yazid, became governor of Sind in 154 and 155 H. (771 A.D.). At the time of Ruh's departure for the valley of the Indus, some one observed to the Khalif Mansur, that the two brothers had little chance of being enclosed in the same tomb. Nevertheless, upon the death of Yazid, he was succeeded in Africa by his brother Ruh, and the two brothers were actually interred by the side of one another at Kauroan.¹¹⁷

5. *Harimu-r Rashid*, A.H. 170-193. A.D. 786-809.

We have, during this prosperous period, another instance of transfer between Africa and Sind; for Daud bin Yazid Muhallabi, who had provisionally succeeded his father in the former province, was appointed to the latter about the year 184 H. (800 A.D.), and died there while holding the office of governor.¹¹⁸ These transfers, no doubt, were designed to prevent governors becoming too powerful and independent, by maturing intrigues, and courting popularity with the inhabitants of any particular province; but they must have also been attended with the salutary effect upon the governors themselves, of removing prejudices, suggesting comparisons, imparting knowledge, and enlarging the general sphere of their observation.

¹¹⁶ *Fabian and Abu-l Fida place the government of Hasham subsequent to that of 'Umar*

¹¹⁷ *Ibn Isr.*, Kamhu-t Tawarikh, anno 171, ap Mem., p. 194. *The years of Ruh's Sindian administration are differently given in Fragments*, p. 213

¹¹⁸ *Abu-l Fida*, Annales Moslem, Vol II p. 78

The Indian historians mention other governors during this reign. One, a celebrated Shaikh, called Abu Turab or Haji Turabi. He took the strong fort of Thatta, in the district of Sakura, the city of Bagar, Bhambur, and some other places in western Sind. His tomb, which bears on its dome the early date of 171 H. (787 A.D.), is to be seen about eight miles south-west of Thatta, between Guja and Kori, and is visited by pilgrims.¹¹

Abu-l 'Abbas was also a governor of Sind during Harun's Khilafat, and remained in that post for a long time. This is all the information which we derive from Mu Ma'sim respecting the Arab governors, though he professes to give us a chapter specially devoted to this subject.¹²⁰

The vigour which marked this period of the Sindian government may, perhaps, be judged of by the impression which the advances of the Arabs were making upon the native princes on the northern frontier of India. Even the Khakan of Tibet was inspired with alarm at the steady progress of their dominion.¹²¹

One interesting synchronism connected with the reign of Harun should not be omitted in this place. Tabari mentions that this Khalif despatched, by the Arabian sea, an envoy, accompanied with numerous presents, to some king of India, representing that he was sore afflicted with a cruel malady, and requesting, as he was on the point of travelling on a distant journey into Khurasan, that the famous Indian physician, Kanka or Manikha, might be sent to attend him on his tour in that province, promising, on the honour of a prince, that he should be permitted to return to his country immediately on the Khalif's arrival at Balkh. The physician, who was sent in compliance with this request, was so successful in his treatment, that his imperial patient was in a short time sufficiently recovered to proceed to his destination, through the passes of Halwan. Nevertheless, the Khalif died at Tus, before he had accomplished all the purposes of his journey, but, in due time, the Indian physician, according to promise, was allowed to proceed to Balkh, whence he returned in safety to his native country.

¹¹ Tuhfatul Kiram, MS. pp. 19, 234.

¹²⁰ Tairikh-i Sind, MS. p. 38, and Tuhfatul Kiram, MS. p. 19.

¹²¹ *Heil. Geschichte der Chahoten I. ed. II.* pp. 163, 180.

which, if not Sind itself, was probably no great distance from it, as the embassy of invitation had proceeded by sea. Some authorities, however, represent that the physician, in the first instance, crossed over the Hindu-kush, and returned home by the Persian Gulf.¹²²

7. *Al Mamun*, A.H. 198-218. A.D. 813-833.

During this Khilafat, Bashar bin Daud, which was invested with the chief authority in Sind, raised the standard of revolt, withheld payment of the revenues, and prepared to resist the Khalif with open force. Ghassan bin Abbad, an inhabitant of Kufa, and a near relative of the Khalif, who had about ten years previous been governor of Khurasan, Sijistan, and Kirman, was sent, in 213 H., against the insurgent, who surrendered himself to Ghassan under promise of safe conduct, and accompanied him to Baghdad, where he obtained pardon from the Khalif.¹²³

Ghassan then appointed "to the government of the frontier," Musa, son of the famous Yahya, the Barmekide, and younger brother of Fazl and Ja'far, the ministers of Harun-u-r Rashid. Musa captured and slew Bala, king of As-Sharki (the east), though five hundred thousand dirhams were offered as a ransom.

In another work, Musa's appointment is ascribed to Harun's reign. He was removed, because he squandered the revenues. He was succeeded by 'Ali bin 'Isa bin Haman.¹²⁴

There appears some difficulty about this period, with respect to the succession to the government of Sind. It is asserted that, previous to the arrival of Ghassan, Tahir bin Husain, who had been the main cause of the elevation of Mamun to the Khilafat, received Sind as a portion of his eastern government, when he was appointed to Khurasan in 205 A.H. (820 A.D.), in which province he died before he had held it two years. Others, again, say that 'Abdu-lla

¹²² *Ibn Abu Usabih*, in *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. II p. 119 - *Price*, *Mohammedan History*, Vol. II p. 88 - *Strickland*, *Biographical Dict. L. L. K.*, Vol. II, p. 300

¹²³ *Abu-l Fida*, *Annales Moslem*, Vol. II p. 150

¹²⁴ *Tuhfatul-Kiram*, MS p. 18.

bin Tahir (the Obaid-ulla of Eutychius)¹²⁵ received the province of Sind, when he succeeded to his father's government in Khurasan. Firishta also tells us, that the Samanids extended their incursions to Sind and Thatta, but it may reasonably be doubted if either they, or the Tahirids,¹²⁶ exercised any power in the valley of Indus, any more than did the Suffarides (except perhaps Yakub), or the Buwarhides, whose seats of government were much nearer, and who had many more facilities for establishing their power in that direction. There is a confusion, also, respecting the precise date of the Barmekide governor above alluded to.¹²⁷

8. *Al-Mu'tasim-bi-llah*, A.H. 218-227 A.D. 833-841

Musa, the Barmekide, after acquiring a good reputation, died in the year 221 H., leaving a son, named Amran who was nominated governor of Sind by Mutasim-bi-llah, then Khalif. 'Amran betook himself to the country of Karkan, which was in the occupation of the Jats, vanquished them, and founded a city, which he called Al Baiza, 'the white,' where he established a military colony. He then returned to Kandabel, which was in the possession of Muhammad bin Khalil. The town was taken, and the principal inhabitants were transferred to Kusdar. After that, he sent an expedition against the Meds, killed three thousand of them, and constructed a causeway, which bore the name of 'the Med's causeway.' Upon encamping near the river Mrur,¹²⁸ he summoned the Jats, who were dependent on his government. "When they obeyed the call, he stamped a

¹²⁵ Eutychius Annales, Vol. II. p. 301.

¹²⁶ [See note on the *Tahiriya* de *Chahmansur* in *Comptes Rendus* Vol. II. p. 118.]

¹²⁷ Compare M. de Sacy, *Chronologie Arabe*, Tom. III. p. 495. 'J. de Slane, *Dictionnaire d'Ibn-Khalib*, Tom. I. p. 542. *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 198.—Fragm. Arabes, p. 15. *Tablettes de rech. Indes*, p. 24.—Weil, *Geschichte der Chahm.*, Vol. II. p. 228.

¹²⁸ [This is the reading of Goe's text (see *Glossary*, but see H. Elliot read "*Aral*," respecting which he says) This river, he says, considered an artificial canal runs from the lake Manchhar, and falls into the Indus, near Sihwan.

seal upon their hands,¹²⁹ and received from them the capitation tax, directing that when they presented themselves to him, they should each be accompanied by a dog, so that the price of a dog rose as high as fifty dirhams."

The meaning of this strange provision is not very evident, but we have seen above, that it originated with the Brahman dynasty, and was approved by Muhammad Kasim. It does not appear whether the tribute-dogs were taken away by the Arabs, or whether it was intended to encourage the breed, by making it necessary that every man should have his dog. It is only for one of these two reasons that the price could have been enhanced. In the former case, they must have been taken, either for the purpose of being slaughtered¹³⁰ by the Arabs, in order to diminish their number, which might have amounted to a nuisance, or they were taken and kept to be used by themselves, as by the Talpur princes of later times, in hunting—or in watching flocks, as we see them employed to this day in the Delta, where they allow no stranger to approach a village. For the same reasons they are held in high repute in Buluchistan.

Had any people but Saracens been rulers in Syria and Mesopotamia, we might have even surmised that these animals were an article of export, for the celebrity of Indian dogs was great among the ancient occupants of the same country, and by them they were largely imported, as they were considered the best for hunting wild beasts, and even lions were readily attacked by them.¹³¹ Xerxes, as Herodotus tells us, was followed in his expedition to Greece by

¹²⁹ This means, most probably, a permanent brand, which at that time was a favourite mode of marking a distinction between Christians, or Jews and Muhammadans—Mod. Universal Hist., Vol. XI p. 16.

¹³⁰ This is improbable, because, however unclean they may be in the eyes of the faithful, the killing of them is considered unlawful, "since they have souls!" This decision was gravely pronounced by a Turkish mufti, on the occasion of a plague in Constantinople, when they were transported to a desert isle—Ibid Vol. X. p. 196.

¹³¹ These were perhaps from the countries of the upper, rather than the lower, Indus. The Sind hound is described by Vigne, in his Travels in Kashmir, Vol. II., p. 411. Respecting the ancient estimation of these Indian dogs, see the passages from Strabo, Diodorus, Elian, Plutarch, and Gratinus, cited by R. Geier, Alexandri M. Hist. Scriptores, p. 378; Ctesias, Indica, c. 25; Arist. Hist. Animal. VII. 23.

Indian dogs, of which "none could mention the number, they were so many" (vii. 187); and Tritæchmes, the satrap of Babylon, kept such a number of Indian dogs, that four considerable towns in the plains were exempted from all other taxes, and devoted to their maintenance" (i. 192). But, as dogs are held in abomination by Muhammadans, we cannot conceive that these tribute dogs were disposed of in this fashion. Whatever may have been the cause of this article of the engagement, it is a curious fact, that the effect seems to have survived in the very scene of these operations; for it is notorious, that the rare crime of dog-stealing is practised to the west of Aral and Manchhar, and travellers are obliged to adopt especial precautions in passing through that district.¹³²

After this triumphant affair with the Jats, 'Amran again attacked the Meds at several different points, having many Jat chiefs under his banners; and he dug a canal by which the sea-water flowed into their lake, so that the only water which they had to drink became salt.

The spirit of faction which prevailed between the Nizarian and Yamanian Arabs, was the cause of 'Amran's death, he having been appointed by 'Umar bin 'Abdu-l 'Aziz al Habbari, who espoused the Nizarian cause, and whose family, in Ibn Haukal's time, was supreme in Mansura. It was during 'Amran's government, that the Indians of Sindian¹³³ declared themselves independent, but they respected the mosque, which the Musulmans of the town visited every Friday, for the purpose of reading the usual offices and praying for the Khalif. Sindan had been originally captured by Fazl bin Mahan, once a slave of the family of Sama,—the same probably that afterwards made itself master of Multan. He sent an elephant to the Khalif, Mamun, and prayed for him in the Jami' Masjid, which he erected in Sindan. At his death, he was succeeded by his son Muhammad, who fitted out a flotilla of seventy barks against the Meds of Hind, put many of them to the sword,

¹³² *Masson's Travels in Afghanistan*, etc., Vol. II, p. 141.

¹³³ *There was a Sindan fifty parasangs south of Broach, and eleven north of Tana, which is spoken of by the old Arab geographers. But the town here spoken of is more probably the Sindan, or Sandan, in Abrasa, the southern district of Kutchh. See Guldemeister de rebus Indicis*, pp. 46, 47.

and took Malia.¹³⁴ In his absence, one of his brothers, named Mahan, treacherously usurped the government of Sindan, and wrote to propitiate the goodwill of Mu'tasim, but the Indians declared against him, and crucified him and subsequently, as before stated, proclaimed their independence, by renouncing allegiance to the Muhammadans.

It was in 'Amran's time, also, that the country of Al 'Usaifan,¹³⁵ situated between Kashmir, Kabul, and Multan was governed by a certain prince of good understanding. His son falling ill, the prince asked the priests of one of the idols worshipped by the inhabitants, to beseech the idol to heal his son. The priests, after absenting themselves a short time, returned, and said the idol had heard their prayers, yet the son died notwithstanding. The prince, exasperated at their fraudulent pretensions, demolished the temple, broke the idol in pieces, and massacred the ministers. He then called before him some Musulman merchants, who developed to him the proofs of the unity of God, upon which he readily became a convert to the faith.

Among the notices of Mu'tasim's reign, we find it mentioned that, in order to reward Ikshin, the Turk, for his seizure of the notorious fanatic Babek, who had spread great consternation by the effects of his first successes, the Khalif bestowed upon him twenty millions of dirhams from the province of Sind—which was equal to two years' revenue; but it does not appear that Ikshin ever went there to collect it, and it was probably a mere assignment upon the general revenues, which might be paid when convenient or altogether repudiated. The mention of a particular province is strange, under the circumstances of the time, and would seem to show that but little was received into the general treasury from that source. Ikshin, in short, was entitled to collect that amount, *if he could*, by rigid extortions in the province itself; just as, at a later period of

¹³⁴ [This name is unimpeachable in the text: it may be Mahi, Kahi, or Fahi.]

¹³⁵ If the Yūsufzais had not been declared to have occupied their present tracts at a much later period, we might have conceived them to be here alluded to. We might even trace the earlier and *extinct* Issacani in this name, as written in Arabic characters. See Mutzell's note to *Quintus Curtius* iii. 37—Brian, *Indica*, i.—C. Müller, *Scriptores rerum Alex.*, p. 102—L'Univers Pitt. iv. *Babylone*, 306

18. *Al Muktadar-bi-llah*, A 11 295-320 A D 908-932

"I represented to Abdul Haseeb that if His Majesty (Shahanshah's) pleasure and none else be respected, and if His Majesty's gift, I saw no reason for my deprivation of my right. * * * "I could not get a hearer, but I did yield me up to my fear and me already assuming a resolution that even if the host's outlaws or minions, except once that I had an assignment of labor by special command of the Shah, that which I was so severely deprived of * * * "The nobles but they as minions rather upon barren places as such as were in relation. Abd Haseeb having returned all the good districts to his own. Capt Hastings Narrative in Kerr's Collection of Voyages. Yet the order according to a companion who visited Agra in 1760, is of great credit, with the Emperor, entitled by the name of a can, who is a knight and his path companion with the greatest noblemen. Capt R. Corbett in Chardoll Collection of Voyages Vol III p. 276.

Elmacin, 345

while corruption and venality openly prevailed; and now, at a later period—notwithstanding that literature flourished, and the personal dignity of the Khalif was maintained in the highest splendour—yet, not only had the Samanis conquered the whole of Mawarau-n nahr and Khurasan, not only had the Dailamites penetrated to the borders of 'Irak, and all northern Africa, except Egypt, had been lost for ever to the Khilafat, but, as if to crown the measure of its misfortunes, the Karmatian heretics, having plundered Kufa, Basra, and Samarra, had possessed themselves of Mecca during the very time of pilgrimage, had massacred the pilgrims, and even carried off the sacred black stone itself, the principal and universal object of Muhammadan veneration.

Under such circumstances, the most distant provinces necessarily partook of the decline from which the heart of the empire was suffering; and Sind, neglected by the imperial government, came to be divided among several petty princes, who though they transmitted no revenue and rendered no political allegiance to the Khalif, were, like other more powerful chiefs, who had assumed independence, glad to fortify their position by acknowledging his spiritual supremacy, and flattering him by the occasional presentation of some rarity from the kingdoms which they had usurped. Among these 'ostentatious displays of empty fealty in which revolted governors were wont to indulge,—comprising, in the words of Gibbon, "an elephant, a east of hawks, a suit of silk-hangings, or some pounds of musk and amber,"¹³⁹ we may specially mention two loyal and characteristic offerings from India,—“a cart-load of four-armed idols,¹⁴⁰ and “the largest and longest teak-tree which had ever been seen.”¹⁴¹

The virtual renunciation of political control in Sind may be dated from the year 257 H., when the Khalif Mu'tamad, in order to divert the Suffarides from their hostile designs against 'Irak, conferred upon Ya'kub ibn Laïs the government of Sind, as well as of Balkh and Tukharistan, in addi-

¹³⁹ Decline and Fall, Chap. li

¹⁴⁰ Biographical Dictionary, L. U' K., Vol. II p. 287; Mem. sur l'Inde, 289.

¹⁴¹ Fragments Ar. et Pers., p. 216. M. Reinaud contends that the

tion to that of Sijistan and Kirman, with which he had been already invested.¹⁴²

The two principal kingdoms which were established in Sind a few years after this event, were those of Multan and Mansura, both of which attained a high degree of power and prosperity. It is probable that the independence of those states commenced upon Ya'kub ibn Laïs' death in 265 H. (879 A.D.), for his successors were comparatively powerless, and the Samanids, at the commencement of their rule, had little leisure to attend to so remote a province as Sind.

Mas'udi, who visited the valley of the Indus in the year 303-4 H.—915-6 A.D., and completed his "*Meadows of Gold*" in 332 H.—943-4 A.D., furnished a brilliant account of the state of Islam in that country. The Amir of Multan was an Arab of the noble tribe of Kurash,¹⁴³ named Abu-l Dalhat al Munabba, son of Assad as Sami, and the Kingdom of Multan is represented to have been hereditary in his family for a long time, "nearly from the beginning of Islam,"—meaning, probably, its introduction into Sind, and Kanauj. he asserts, was then a province of Multan, "the greatest of the countries which form a frontier against unbelieving nations."

He was descended from Sama, son of Lawi, son of Ghalib, who had established himself on the shores of "Uman before the birth of Muhammad. The Amir had an army in his pay, and there were reckoned to be 120,000 hamlets around

word saj here means a species of tree, which had belonged to some man of extraordinary stature. This is, I think, means probably, where as a teak-tree from Sind, where so many were imported from Malabar, would have been natural and appropriate. Teak is the vulg oagalma of Arrian's Perplus, which Linnaeus conceives to be an error for sandalinc. He wrongly attributes another error to the reading of acoamina—which has proved equally puzzling to Salmasius, as well as to Heeren and his Oxford translator. Both words are perfectly correct, and are derived from two native terms saj and sisam, in use at the present day. I present, Commerce and Nav. of the Ancients, Vol II pp 378-379, Heeren Asiatic Nations Talboys, Vol III pp 439, S de Saie, Chronologie Arabe, Tom III pp 473, 474, Gildemeister 39, Hamann A. Sandalinc and Sasem

¹⁴² Weil, Geschichte der Chahnen Vol II p 438

¹⁴³ The Kurashis still muster considerable strength in the neighbourhood of Multan.

the capital. His dominion extended to the frontier of Khurasan. The temple of the Sun was still an object of native pilgrimage, to which people reported from the most distant parts of the continent, to make their offerings of money, pearls, aloe, wood and other perfumes. It was from this source that the greater part of the revenue of the Amir was derived. Mas'udi remarks, as does Ibn Haukal, that the threat of injuring or mutilating the idol was sufficient to deter the native princes from engaging in hostilities with the Amir.

Mansura was governed by another Kuraishi, whose name was Abu-l Mundar Umar bin 'Abdul-lla. He was descended from Habbar bin Aswad, who was celebrated for his opposition to Muhammad, and on the return of the prophet to Mecca in triumph, was among the few who were excepted from the terms of the amnesty which was at that time proclaimed. He subsequently became a convert, and towards the year 111 A.H., one of his descendants came to the valley of the Indus to seek his fortune. Some time after, his family, taking advantage of the anarchy which prevailed in the country, made themselves masters of the lower Indus, and established themselves at Mansura. Our voyager states, that he was kindly received by the Amir, as well as his minister. While he was there, he found some descendants of the Khalif 'Ali, whom persecution had compelled to seek a refuge in that distant country.

The principality of Mansura extended from the sea to Alor, where that of Multan commenced. It was said to contain 300,000 villages, which is, of course, a ridiculous exaggeration; but the whole country was well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields. Nevertheless, the inhabitants were obliged continually to protect themselves against the aggressions of the Meds and other savage tribes of the desert.

The chief of Mansura had eighty elephants of war. Their trunks were armed with a kind of curved sword, called *kartal*, and were covered with armour to protect them in fight.¹⁴¹ The entire body of the animal was similarly pro-

¹⁴¹ Kazami mentions a ridiculous story of a man named Harun, who wrote a poem in which he boasted of having contended with an elephant so armed and having put it and its attendant host to flight, by eradicating its tusks. 'Ajabu-l Makhluqat, i. "Multan"

ected, and each was attended by a detachment of five hundred infantry. Other elephants, not used in war service, were employed to carry burdens and draw chariots.¹⁴⁵

23. *Al Muti'-li-llah*, A.H. 334-363 A.D. 945-974

25. *Al Kadir-bi-llah*, A.H. 381-422 A.D. 991-1031

A few years after Mas'udi, the valley of the Indus was visited by Istakhri, and by Ibn Haukal, who has included nearly the whole of Istakhri's relation in his own, and has entered into some further detail.

The account of Sind by Ibn Haukal, who wrote his work after the year 366 H. (976 A.D.), when he was for a second time in India, has been given in the preceding pages, and need not be repeated here. With respect to the condition of the country at the time of his visit he observes that Multan was not so large as Mansura, and was defended by a citadel, that the territory was fertile and produce cheap, but that its fertility was inferior to that of Mansura, and its soil was not cultivated with the same care. The Amir¹⁴⁶ lived outside the town, and never entered it except for the purpose of going to the mosque, on Fridays, mounted on an elephant. There appears to have been not native coinage, but the money in circulation was chiefly Kandaharian and Tatarian dirhams. The dress of the Sindians was like that of the people of Irak, but the Amir habited themselves like the native princes. Some persons wore their hair long and their dresses loose, with waistbands, on account of the heat, and there was no difference between the garb of the faithful and idolaters.

The Amirs of Multan and Mansura were independent of one another; but both deferred to the spiritual authority of the Khalif of Baghdad. The former was still a descendant of Sama bin Lawi, and the latter a descendant of the Habbari family.

Alor, the ancient Hindu capital, was nearly as large as Multan, surrounded by a double wall and was a dependency of Mansura. Its territory was fertile and rich, and it was the seat of considerable commerce. Rahuk (or Dahuk)

¹⁴⁵ See *Early Arab Geographers*, *Memoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 213-217.

¹⁴⁶ Istakhri speaks of him as Malik. The *Harat al-cab's* have Amir, but the chief of Mansura he designates as Malik, so that it is evident he uses the terms in the same signification.

also, on the borders of Makran, and to the west of the Hala range, was included in Mansura.

There were other principalities to the west, besides these two in the valley of the Indus:—such as Tuṛan; which was under the authority of a native of Basra, named Abu-l Kassam, “tax-gatherer, administrator, judge, and general, who could not distinguish between three and ten:”—and Kusdar; which was governed by an Arab, residing in Kaikanan, named Mu’in bin Ahmad, who admitted the name of the ‘Abbaside Khalif into the public prayers:—and Makran, the ruler of which was ‘Isa bin Ma’dan, who had established his residence in the city of Kiz, about the size of half of Multan:—and Mushki, on the borders of Kirman; which was presided over by Matahar bin Rija, who had an independent jurisdiction extending through three days’ journey, but used the Khalif’s name in the public services of religion.¹¹⁷

Ibn Haukal observes, that at Mansura and Multan, and in the rest of the province, the people spoke the Arabic and Sindian languages; in Makran, Makranian and Persian.

With respect to those other parts of India to which the Musulmans resorted such as the maritime towns in the jurisdiction of the Balhara, between Cambay and Saimur. Ibn Haukal observes that they were covered with towns and villages. The inhabitants were idolators, but the Musulmans were treated with great consideration by the native princes. They were governed by men of their own faith, as the traveller informs us was the case with Musulmans in other infidel dominions, as among the Khazars of the Volga, the Alans of the Caucasus, and in the Ghana and Kaugh in Central Africa. They had the privilege of living under their own laws, and no one could give testimony against them unless he professed the Muhammiadan faith. “I have seen,” says Ibn Haukal, “Musulmans of this country invoke against other Musulmans the testimony of natives of probity who did not profess the Muhammiadan creed; but it was necessary that the adverse party should first give his consent.” They had erected their mosques in these infidel cities, and were allowed to summon their congregations by the usual mode of proclaiming the time of prayer.

¹¹⁷ *Gildemeister de rebus Ind* p. 173

Such privileges could only have been conceded to men whose favour was worth gaining, and it is to be regretted that they were indisposed to show to others in similar circumstances the indulgences so readily allowed to themselves. In the Middle Ages, it was only the power and political influence of the Amalfitans, Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese, that were sometimes able to extort from the reluctant Musulmans those immunities, which were willingly granted by the more easy and indifferent Crusaders and Greeks,—comprising the security of their changes, magazines, and churches, the recognition of their Bailos, the privilege of being tried by their own laws, and by judges of their own appointment. These republics must then have occupied in Egypt and Constantinople the same kind of position as the Arabs on the coast of India, excepting that the tenure of the former was more precarious, and more subject to the caprices of despotism, the fluctuations of trade, and the ascending or waning influence of the principal carriers.

The commercial establishments in the peninsula of India do not seem to have excited any religious scruples in the minds of the Khalifs, or even of those casuistical divines who guided the consciences of these "Vicars of God" and their subjects. Trade was openly prosecuted in that land of infidels by Arab merchants, without any fulminations from these spiritual authorities, and probably with their encouragement. In this respect, there was a singular contrast between the sentiments that animated Muhammadans and Christians: for to Christians, on the contrary, whether merchants or princes, the permission of their "Vicars of God" was necessary, before they could traffic with infidels, as only he, in his infallibility, could authorize a departure from the most sacred injunctions of Holy Writ. Even as late as the year 1454, the dispensing power to trade with Muhammadans was exercised in favour of Prince Henry of Portugal by Pope Nicholas V. in a famous Bull, which refers to similar concessions from his immediate predecessors, Martin V. and Eugenius IV. to Kings of that country.

This intercourse with the Saracens was not merely subject to these formal, and perhaps interested, restrictions, but was strongly and honestly reprobated by many sincere

believers: and not without reason, when we reflect, that some of these traders, especially the Venetians, disgraced their honour and their faith by supplying the Egyptian market with Circassian slaves, and even rendered their mercenary assistance in driving the Crusaders from Acre, the last and only stronghold left to them in Palestine:—

E non con Saracm, ne con Gudei,
Che ciascun suo nemico era Cristiano,
E nessuno era stato a vincere Acri,
Ne mercantante in terra di Soldano.¹⁴⁹

The revenues, which the Arab princes of Sind derived from their several provinces, are pronounced to have been very small,—barely more than sufficient to provide food and clothing and the means of maintaining their positions with credit and decency; and, as a necessary consequence, only a few years elapsed before they were driven from their kingdoms, and compelled to yield their power to more enterprising and energetic assailants.

The Karmatians of India are nowhere alluded to by Ibn Haukal;¹⁴⁹ but it could not have been long after his visit, that these heretics, who probably contained within their ranks many converted natives and foreigners as well as Arabs, began to spread in the valley of the Indus. Abu-l Fida dates the commencement of their decline from 326 H. (938 A.D.). This was accelerated by two ignominious defeats in Egypt in 360 and 363, and their overflow was completed in 'Irak in 375 (985 A.D.). It must have been about this latter year that, finding their power expiring in the original seat of their conquests, they sought new settlements in a distant land, and tried their success in Sind. There the

¹⁴⁹ *Dante, Inferno, Cant. xxviii. See also Parad. Cant. ix. vii. The sentiment was common, and Petrarch exclaims against this venality, with equal indignation, in his Trionfo della Fama. On the general subject, compare Muratori, Antiquit. Ital. med. ævi, Vol. II. col. 935-16; Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 934; Robertson, Disquis. on Ancient India, Notes. art. and æven; Heeren, Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades, Pt. ii. sec. 1; Renaud, Sarrazins, 238; Breneman de Republ. Amalf., 8; McPherson, Annals of Commerce, I. 370, 396, 435; Muratori, Rerum Ital. Scrip., Vol. VI. col. 186, XII. 322, 330; XVII. 1088, 1092.*

¹⁴⁹ [Unless they were the inhabitants of "Rasak, the city of schismatics."]

weakness of the petty local governments favoured their progress, and led to their early occupation both of Mansura and Multan,—from which latter place history records their expulsion by the overwhelming power of Mahmud the Ghaznvide.

It appears from local histories, as well as the *Kamilu-t Tawarikh*, that Mahmud also effected conquests in Sind. Though this matter is not commonly recorded by his historians, there is every likelihood of its truth; for, being in possession of Kusdar and Multan, the country was at all times open to his invasions. As it is well established that, after the fall of Somnat, he marched for some days along the course of the Indus, we can readily concur with the *Kamilu-t Tawarikh* in ascribing his capture of Mansura to the year 416 H., on his return from that expedition; and, as it is expressly stated that he then placed a *Muhammadan* prince on the throne, we may safely infer that the previous occupant had rejected that faith, and was therefore a *Karmatian*, who, having usurped the government from the *Habbari* dynasty, had thus, after a duration of three centuries, effected the extinction of the Arab dominion in Sind.¹⁵⁰

SIND UNDER THE ARABS

Having in the previous Note exhausted all the scanty materials which history has left us respecting the political progress of the Arabs in Sind, we may now proceed to consider some of the questions connected with the maintenance of their power in that province.

The internal administration of the country was necessarily left in the hand of the natives; as the Arabs, upon their first acquisition of territory, had brought with them no men capable of exercising civil functions. Indeed, wherever we

¹⁵⁰ Compare *Mordtmann*, *das Buch der Länder*, *Gildemeister*, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 163-182, *Onsley*, *Oriental Geography*, *Modern Universal Hist.*, Vol. II, pp. 383, 387, 398, 415; *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 233-242; *Fragm. Arabes*, p. xxiv; *D'Herbelot*, *Biblioth. Orientale*, v. "Carmath," *W'el*, *Geschichte der Chahfen*, Vol. II, p. 675, III, 11, 33, 65, *Gugnes*, *Hist. des Huns*, *Tuhfatul Kuram*, 118, p. 21, *Hamza Isfahani*, ed. *Gottwaldt*, Vol. II, p. 156, et seq.; *Abul-Fida*, *Annal. Mosl.*, Vol. II, p. 406.

follow the steps of these fanatics, we find them ignorant of the first principles of public economy, and compelled, by the exigencies of their position, to rely upon native assistance in the management of the finances and accounts of their subject provinces. So, indeed, in a certain measure do the English in India; but with this essential difference, that they direct and control the ministerial officers, both of collection and record, introduce their own systems, modify or abrogate the old ones as occasion arises, and initiate all proceedings connected with the several departments of the exchequer: but the Arabs, either through indolence, pride, or ignorance, left themselves at the mercy of their subordinates, and were unable to fathom the depths of the chaotic accounts kept by their native financiers, who practised the most ingenious devices of flattery, falsehood, cajolery, and self-interest—rendered more acute by religious hatred—in order to blind their credulous dupes as to the actual resources of the countries which they governed. The rack and the threat of circumcision would sometimes extort the illicit accumulations of past years; but, in the long run, the pliant and plausible officials were the gainers; and compromises, in a little ready cash, were gladly accepted, in lieu of closer scrutiny and more accurately balanced ledgers.

Hence those charges so readily brought, and so eagerly listened to, by Khalifs as well as Amirs, of defalcations and embezzlements: hence those demands for indefinite sums from refractory servants: hence those extortionate fines, levied according to mere surmises and conjectures, since no means existed of ascertaining the real amount of revenue and expenditure. Brought up in their native deserts, with no greater knowledge of schemes of administration than was to be obtained by studying the phylarchies of the Bedouins, and invested suddenly with dominions which they were not competent to manage, however easily they might overrun and subdue them, the Arabs were compelled to seek in the political institutions of their subjects the means of realizing the exactions which, as victors, they felt it their right to demand. The maintenance, therefore, of native officials (who were styled Brahmins in the case of Sind) was a matter of necessity rather than choice, at least at this early period of their sway; for the guide-books mentioned

by Ibn Haukal, which indicate some knowledge of statistics and finance, were the products of a much later age.

The first show of independence of such aid, even at the capital itself, was not exhibited till the reign of 'Abd-ul-Malik, when he adopted an Arab currency, in supersession of the Greek and Persian money, with which trade had been hitherto carried on: though the old denominations of *leuarius* and *drachma* were still retained, under the slight metamorphoses of *dinar* and *dirham*. Walid next abolished the Greek language and character from the public offices of finance, and substituted the Arabic, thus still further freeing the Arabs from the trammels which these foreign systems had interposed. The land-tenures and personal taxes, being based upon principles introduced by the victorious Moslems, retained their Arab nomenclature.¹¹

The original conquerors of Sind received there, as elsewhere under similar circumstances, large possessions in land (*ikta'at* or *kataya'*), which, as beneficiary grants for public services, were exempt from all taxes, except the alms (*sadaka*) defined by law. They were, of course, held on the condition of continued military service, and as long as this was rendered, they never reverted to the fisc. According to the regulations promulgated by 'Umar, soldiers were not allowed to devote themselves to agriculture or any other profession, and therefore the lands of these grantees continued to be cultivated by the former possessors, now reduced to the condition of villeins and serfs.¹² Other soldiers, not so beneficed, received stipends from the public revenue, to which they themselves contributed nothing in the shape of taxes. Four-fifths of the prize-money was invariably distributed among them, and, indeed, at first, formed their sole remuneration, inasmuch that a man who received pay was entitled neither to plunder nor the honour of martyrdom. One-fifth of the spoil was reserved to the Khalif for religious and charitable purposes, according to the injunctions of the Kuran. The man "who went down to the battle, and he who carried by the stuff," received equal shares, and the horseman was entitled to a double

¹¹ *Elmacin*, *Historia Saracenica*, p. 77. L'Ormy Pitt. As. Arabie, 405-6.

¹² *Reinaud*, *Sarrasms*, 279, 280. — *Blacas*, I. 316.

portion. Had the Khalif attempted to augment his share the hardy warriors would have resisted his claim, with the same freedom as the fierce and sturdy Gaul, when he raised his battle-axe, and reminded Clovis that the famous vase of Soissons was public spoil.¹⁵³

Much also of the conquered land was, during the whole course of Arab occupation, liberally bestowed upon sacred edifices and institutions, as *wakf*, or mortmain; of which some remnant, dating from that early period, is to be found even to this day in Sind,¹⁵⁴ which notoriously swarms with sanctified beggars and similar impostors, and contains, according to the current saying, no less than 100,000 tombs of saints and martyrs, besides ecclesiastical establishments, which, under the Talpurs, absorbed one-third of the entire revenue of the State.

That the whole valley, however, was not occupied or assigned by the victors is evident, not only from the large amount of the land-tax—which, had that been the case, would have yielded no revenue to the government—but from the fact of many native chiefs being able to maintain their independence, amidst all the wars and turmoils which raged around them. This is manifest from the story of 'Abdu-lla bin Muhammad, the 'Alite, which has been related in the preceding note. There we find a native potentate, "only one amongst other Sindian kings," possessing much land and many subjects, to whom 'Abdu-lla was recommended to fly for protection, and who was represented as holding the name of the prophet in respect, though he continued to worship his own idols.

The conquerors, taking up their abode chiefly in cities of their own construction, cultivated no friendly intercourse with the Indians, whom they condemned as a subject race and abhorred as idolaters. They remained, therefore isolated from their neighbours, and when their turn came to be driven out from their possessions, they left a void

¹⁵³ *Gregory of Tours Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum, Lib. ii c. 27. On the subject of the Muhammadan law of booty, compare Hedaya, B. ix c. 2, 4, Mishcat ul Musabih, Vol. II p. 244, Defrémery, Hist. des Samanides 226, Saib Koran Pref. Disc., pp. 198-201, and Vol. I pp. 200, 207, II 424, Richard De Jure Militari Muhammedorum, Sect. 19 27, Reinoud Savazins 254.*

¹⁵⁴ [*Kosegarten, Ibn Batuta 22*]

which was soon filled up, and their expulsion, or extermination, was easily accomplished, and nowhere regretted.

In no place do we find any allusion to Arab women accompanying Sindian camps, or—as often occurred in other fields—stimulating the soldiers to action, when they evinced any disposition to yield to their enemy.¹ The battle of the Yermouk, which decided the fate of Syria, was gained as much by the exhortations, reproaches, and even blows of the women, as by the valour of the men, for thrice were the faithful repulsed by the steady advance of the Grecian phalanx, thrice were they checked in their retreat, and driven back to battle by the women. Abu Sulvan himself being struck over the face with a tent-pole by one of those viragos, as he fled before the enemy. In the remotest east, again, we find, as early as the time of Ubaid-lla, his brother's wife mentioned as the first Arabian woman who crossed the Oxus,—on which occasion unfortunately she disgraced the credit of her sex, no less than her exalted rank, by stealing the jewels and crown of the queen of the Sogdians. Not many years after the sanguinary battle of Bukhara, fought in the year 90 H., between Ibn Kutaba and the Tatars, was, in like manner with that of the Yermouk, restored by the tears and reproaches of the women who accompanied the Arab camp.² These soldiers, therefore, were prepared for immediate colonization and settlement and must have consisted of the surplus emigrant population already settled in Khurasan. Accordingly, we find in this instance, that Balkand was converted into a fortress and that part of the army was located in its neighbourhood and composed several hundred military stations.

Sind, on the contrary, on account of the distance and difficulty of communication, and the absence of intermediate Arab colonies, was invaded by men prepared for military operations alone, and who could not possess the means of carrying their families with them, when only one baggage-camel was allowed to every four men, for the transport of

¹ Remaud, *Sarrasins*, 18.

² So, with respect to the Germans: *Et tunc se . . . Alia acies profertur quasdam acies inclinat, jam et labantes a feminis restituit, constantia precum et obiectu pectorum et monstrata coronas captivitate quam longe impationis temerorum sua iam comme hanc*—*Germania*, c. 3.

their food, tents, and other necessary equipments, and when supplies ran short even before the Indus was crossed.

Subsequently, when the road was more open and free these agreeable additions to their society may have poured in, along with the later adventurers who flocked to the new conquest; but we nowhere meet with even any incidental allusion to the circumstance, but with much that militates against its probability: so that there was, perhaps, among the descendants of the Sindian colonists, less infusion of the real blood of Arabs than in any other province subjected to their dominion.

When Muhammad Kasim, upon passing the Indus, gave to any of his soldiers so disposed leave to retire to their homes, only three came forward to claim their discharge, and of these, two did so, because they had to provide for the female members of their family, who had, with the rest, been left behind in their native country with no one to protect them. Nor were the consolations of a speedy restoration to their deserted homes held out to the first conquerors. To them the return was even more difficult than the advance as we may learn from a passage in Tabari, where he tells that, on the accession of the Khalif Sulaiman, he wrote to those ill-used men—the companions of the gallant hero whom he had tortured to death—in these harsh and cruel terms:—"Sow and sweat, wherever you may find yourselves on receipt of this mandate, for there is no more Syria for you." Here, then, these exiles must have remained during the ten years of his reign at least; and as they were not likely to have returned in any numbers after his death, we may conceive them congregated into several military colonies, seeking solace for their lost homes in the arms of the native women of the country, and leaving their lands and plunder to be inherited by their Sindo-Arab descendants.

These military colonies, which formed a peculiar feature of Arab settlement were styled *jumud* and *amsar*,—"armies" and "cities,"—the latter appellation implying settled abodes, contrasted with the previous migrations to which the tribes had been habituated. In many instances they rose into important cities, as in the case of Basra, Kufa, and Damascus, and early became the principal centres of Arab learning, law, grammar, and theology, as well as of tumult,

violence, perfidy, and intrigue. The principal seats of these cantonments in Sind appear to have been Mansura, Kuzdar, Kandabel, Baiza, Mahfuza, and Multan, and indeed, the military camp near the latter town,—whether the real name be “Jandaram” or “Jundruz” (*Gildemeister*), “Jundawar” (*Ashkalu-l Bilad*), “Jundawar” (*Abu-l Isha*) or “Jandur” (*Nubian Geographer*), seems to derive its first syllable from *jand*, the singular number of *junud*, above mentioned.¹⁵⁷

The local troops, which were enlisted in the country, dispersed to their own homes as soon as the necessity was satisfied for which they were raised, but there were some which assumed a more permanent character, and were employed on foreign service, with little chance of return.

That Sindian troops were levied, and sent to fight the battles of the Arabs in distant quarters, we have undoubted proof. I speak not here of the numerous Jats of Irak, Syria, and Mesopotamia, who—as I hope to be able to show in another place—were, ere long, transformed into the Jatano, or Gitano,—the Gypsies of modern Europe. These had been too long in their settlements to be called ‘Sindians’ by a contemporary historian, like Dionysius Telmarensis, to whom the terms “Jat,” “Asawira,” and “Sababija,” were mere familiar. This author, in his *Syrian Chronicle*, distinctly mentions “Sindian” cohorts as forming a portion of the motley army of Alans, Khazars, Medes, Persians, Turks, Arabs, etc., which made an irruption into the Byzantine territory in 150 A.H. 767 A.D.¹⁵⁸ Four years afterwards, we find a body of Sindians and Khazars—said to be slaves—attempting to seize upon the imperial treasury in Harran. Most probably, they also composed part of these foreign levies.

In admitting these provincials into their armies, the Arabs merely imitated the policy of the Romans, who did the same from motives of expediency—hoping to find employment

¹⁵⁷ Possibly the Jandarwal, or Chanderwal of Fabel, the separate quarter occupied by the military colonies of the Ka-shi-ph-mas, have a similar origin.—[See Note on the name Jandrud, elsewhere in the previous volume.]

¹⁵⁸ Jos. Sim. Assemanus, *Biblioth. Orient. Clementine* Vat., Vol. II p. 103; Rampoldi, *Annali Musulmani*, Tom. II. p. 19, Univ. Hist. II. 126, Gild. 17.

for turbulent spirits, and to neutralize the elements of rebellion, by sending foreign mercenaries into provinces remote from their native soil.¹⁵⁹ Thus we find Slavones and Berbers, Syrians and Copts, Babylonians and Persians, and even Christians and Jews, Magians and Idolaters, in the early period of the Khilalat, extending the Arab conquests among distant nations; just as, in the days of its decline, the Khalifs had Africans, Farghanians, Turks, Alans, etc., acting as their Prætorian guards, both in protecting them against their own subjects, and deposing their employers at their own will and pleasure:¹⁶⁰—the difference only consisted in this, that the former constituted auxiliary corps, into which, when any foreigner was enlisted, he was adopted by some Arab tribe as a member, and being called *maula*, or client, of that tribe, he had the same rights and privileges as if he had been born in it, whereas, Mu'tasim, when he enrolled his foreign bodyguard, made the Arabian troops subordinate to his mercenaries, whom, in order to elude the law, he called his own clients—an evasive practice which was continued by his successors.¹⁶¹

When the profession of faith in God and his Prophet was no longer the symbol which united these furious zealots, when literature, science, philosophy, poetry, and other objects of intellectual culture, ceased to be regarded as criminal pursuits;¹⁶² when opulence, luxury, and the arts which refine and embellish social life, had converted roaming and rugged soldiers into indolent and effeminate voluptuaries,—the necessity of recruiting their ranks from extraneous sources, led to a modification of their military institutions, and to the abandonment of those exclusive sentiments, which had once found the Arabs by a common tie of fraternity in rapine and propagandism. Some of these foreign recruits were, no doubt, obtained by the hopes of ready participation in the spoils which were the invariable concomitant of Arab conquests; but most of them were very unwilling soldiers, raised by an arbitrary conscription, and only reconciled to their

¹⁵⁹ *In the Roman occupation of Britain, we find even Indian cavalry stationed at Cirencester—Wright, Celt, Roman, and Saxon, p. 252.*

¹⁶⁰ "*Firmamentum imperii et postea pestem*."

¹⁶¹ Biographical Dictionary, I.U.K., Vol II pp. 294, 372.

¹⁶² *G. O. Fleuché, Dissert. de Arab Script Gr. Interpret.* p. 5. *Renaud, Sarrasins*, i. 74, 243.

fate, after long experience of their new profession, and when their distant homes had been forgotten. That the power of levying troops for foreign service was generally felt as a sore grievance by the unfortunate provincials, is evidenced by the terms for which the people of Tabaristan held out, when they capitulated to their victors, for while they agreed to become tributary in the annual sum of five hundred thousand dirhams, they stipulated that the Moslems should at no time levy any troops in their country."

Commercial activity, also, succeeded to the zeal for war, which offered no longer the same inducements of honour and profit that had been realized by the early conquerors. A new stimulus was thus found for the spirit of adventure which still survived, in the perils and excitements of trading speculations, both by land and sea, prosecuted at a distance and duration, which at that time it is surprising to contemplate. Sind was not backward in this season of enterprise, for she appears to have kept up a regular commercial communication with the rest of the Muhammadan empire. Caravans were often passing and repassing between that country and Khurasan, most commonly by the route of Kabul and Bamian. She also held communication with Zabulistan and Sijistan, by way of Ghazni and Kandahar. Zabulistan was, at the period of Mas'udi's visit, a large country, known by the name of the kingdom of Firoz and contained fortresses of great strength. The people were of divers languages and races, and different opinions were even then entertained respecting their origin. In Sijistan, which has greatly deteriorated since that period, the banks of the Hendmand were studded with gardens and cultivated fields; its stream was covered with boat, and irrigation was carried on extensively by means of windmills.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ *Washington Iran's Successors of Mahomet*, pp. 141 and 25, from Hammer-Purgstall's *Gemälde*, &c. It is worthy of remark that the Tapyri, whose name is preserved in Tabaristan, are not included in the copious catalogue of Herodotus among those naming in the armament of Xerxes.

¹⁶⁴ This is nearly the earliest mention we have of them, even in the east. Our knowledge of these contrivances in Europe ascends no higher than 1105 of our era. In Muhammadan countries we have allusions to them as early as 645, *Proc. Retrospect of Moh. History*, Vol. I. p. 140, *Du Cange*, *Glossarium med. et inf. Latinitatis*, 7.

With respect to the routes from the North to India, Biruni observes:—"We reach Sind from our country (Turkistan) by going through the country of Nimroz, that is to say, Sijistan, and we reach Hind through Kabul. I do not mean to say that is the only route, for one can arrive there from all directions when the passes are open."

We learn from notices in other authors, that there was commercial traffic by sea-board also. Much of the merchandize which was carried through Sind to Turkistan and Khurasan,—and thence even so far as Constantinople,¹⁶⁵ by the resumption of a route which had been much frequented at an earlier period¹⁶⁶—was the product of China and the ports of Ceylon, 'Uman, and Malabar; from which latter province was derived, as at the present day, all the timber used in the construction of the boats which plied on the river. From Arabia, horses were frequently imported into Sind; and armies and munitions of war were sent up the mouths of the Indus, as we have already noticed with respect to the expeditions of Muhammad Kasim and some of his predecessors.¹⁶⁷ The whole coast of Wirman and Makran was, doubtless, studded with Arab settlements of the Azdis, who were the chief mercantile carriers from Obolla and 'Uman, and who had many brethren settled in Sind; and so it has remained, indeed, from the time of Alexander to the present Imam of Maskat, for the means of Arabis, Arabius, Arabitæ, etc., of Nearchus and the ancient geographers, were most probably derived from the opposite peninsula in the west, and are still represented by the Arabu of the coast of Makran, like as the neighbouring Oriatæ, or Hortitæ, seem to survive in the modern Hor-mara and Haur.¹⁶⁸

The toleration which the native Sindians enjoyed in the

¹⁶⁵ Ramusio, *Raccolta di Nav.* Tom. I p. 374, B., Robertson, *India*, pp. 42, 77, 106, 121; MacPherson, *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I pp. 141, 194, 370, Remaud's *Rel. des Voy.*, 42, Weil, II 305.

¹⁶⁶ Strabo, *Geog.* lib. vi c. 7, Vol. II p. 427, ed. Tauchnitz, *Pliny*, *Nat. Hist.* lib. vi c. 17, 23, Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, Vol. I p. 38, *Mod. Trav. India*, I 148, *Ind. Alterthum*, II 531, 603; Hakluyt, IV, 409.

¹⁶⁷ *Cosmos Indicopl.* ap. Montfaucon, *Coll. nov. Patrum*, Tom. II p. 334; Elmacin, *Hist. Sarac.*, Ann. 101, Kosegarten, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, p. 99.

¹⁶⁸ See Geier, *Alexandri M. Hist. Scriptores*, p. 128; Mutzell's

practice of their religion, was greater than what was usually conceded in other countries; but it was dictated less by any principle of justice or humanity, than the impossibility of suppressing the native religion by the small number of Arab invaders.¹⁶⁹ When time had fully shown the necessity of some relaxation in the stern code of Moslim conquest, it was directed, that the natives might rebuild their temples and perform their worship, and that the three per cent., which had been allowed to the priests under the former government, should not be withheld by the lanty for whom they officiated. Dahir's prime minister was also retained in office, in order to protect the rights of the people, and to maintain the native institutions; while Brahmans were distributed throughout the provinces to collect the taxes which had been fixed. But, where power had, for a short time, enabled the Moslims to usurp the mastery, the usual bigotry and cruelty were displayed. At Debal, the temples were demolished, and mosques founded, a general massacre endured for three whole days; prisoners were taken captive, plunder was amassed; and an apostate was left in charge of the government, exercising co-ordinate jurisdiction with an Arab chief. At Nairun, the idols were broken, and mosques founded, notwithstanding its voluntary surrender. At Alor, though the lives of the inhabitants were spared, a heavy tribute was imposed; and though the temples were treated like "churches of the Christians, or synagogues of the Jews," yet that was no great indulgence, if we may judge from the proceedings at Jerusalem and Damascus - where the ringing of bells and building of chapels were prohibited; where the free admission of Musulmans was at all times compulsory; where the forcible conversion of churches into mosques was insisted on, without the offer of compensation; and where they were sometimes devoted to the meaner uses of cow-houses and stables. At Rawar, and 'Askalanda, all the men in arms were put to the sword, and the women and children carried away captive. At Multan, all men capable of bearing arms were massacred;

Notes to *Q. Curtius*, pp. 873, 874. *Droysen Geschichte Alex's*, pp. 467-9; *Vincent, Voyage of Nearchus*, pp. 181-211. *Barros, Decadas da Asia*, Dec. iv. p. 290. *Hecren Asiatic Nations*, Vol. I. pp. 279, 297.

¹⁶⁹ *Remaud Sarrazins*, 35.

six thousand ministers of the temple were made captive, besides all the women and children; and a mosque was erected in the town.

Among the chief objects of idolatry at Multan, the *Bhavishya Purana* and *Wwen-Tsang* mention a golden statue of the Sun; but the Arabic writers speak of the principal idol as being composed of no other more valuable substance than wood, representing that it was covered with a red skin, and adorned with two rubies for eyes. Muhammad Kasim, ascertaining that large offerings were made to this idol, and wishing to add to his resources by those means, left it uninjured; but in order to show his horror of Indian superstition, he attached a piece of cow's flesh to its neck, by which he was able to gratify his avarice and malignity at the same time. Biladuri says it was considered to represent the prophet Job, which appears an Arab misreading of Aditya, as it is correctly styled by Biruni, for without the vowel points, there is no great difference in the original. This idol was allowed to maintain its position during the whole period of the supremacy of the Khalifs; but Biruni informs us, that when the Karmatians became masters of Multan, they did not show themselves equally tolerant or provident respecting the valuable resources of the shrine; for their leader, Jalam, the son of Shaiban, had the idol broken in pieces, and the attendant priests massacred; and the temple, which was situated on an eminence, was converted into the *Jami' Masjid*, in lieu of the one which existed before. That was closed in order to evince their hatred of the Ummayide Khalifs, under whom it had been constructed; but when Sultan Mahmud took Multan, and subdued the Karmatians, he re-opened the ancient mosque, upon which the new one was abandoned, and became "as a plain destined to vulgar uses."

The same idol was subsequently set up, and received the offerings of the people. How long it maintained its ancient credit is not known for certain; but at Multan, the Sun is no longer the object of worship, having yielded to the temple of Prahladpuri, now itself in ruins, but occupying, doubtless, the same lofty eminence in the citadel which was formerly consecrated to Aditya.

On counting up the cost of the Sindian expedition,

Hajjaj found that he had expended 60,000,000, and had received 120,000,000 dirhams¹⁷⁰. As that could only have been the Khalif's usual share of one-fifth, the total value of the plunder obtained must have been 600,000,000 dirhams. Now, as one million of dirhams, at fivepence-halfpenny each, is equivalent to about £23,000 of our money, and as the relative value of money was ten times greater then than now, we may conceive the amount to be largely exaggerated; since the country could not by any possibility have yielded such a booty, even with the exercise of the utmost Arab violence and extortion to enforce its collection. Even if we take Hajjaj's calculation to represent the whole sum, and not merely one-fifth, we should still find it difficult to believe, either that Sind and Multan together could at that time have yielded two millions and three-quarters sterling, or that one-half of that sum could have been expended in their conquest by such a frugal and abstemious race as the Arabs, who had no need of a modern commissariat, at once extravagant and cumbersome, to follow their agile movements.¹⁷¹

The consideration of this question naturally introduces the subject of the public revenue of Sind. From the statements of Ibn Khurdadha, Ibn Khaldun, and Ibn Haukal, we derive some valuable notices of the revenue of the 'Abbasides, with more especial reference to the period of Mamun's reign. Ibn Khaldun's table has been given by Von Hammer, in his *Landverwaltung* and to this additions have been made by Dr. Sprenger from the very rare manuscripts of the other authors, both preserved in the Bodleian library. From these authorities combined, we are able to deduce some useful inferences respecting the comparative

¹⁷⁰ This is from the *Futuh-ul-Buldan* and is taken as being the most exact statement. That in the *Chich-noma* differs considerably, and affords no means of comparison between actual receipt and expenditure. There is no reason to apprehend error in the transcription of these numbers because the Arabic original does not express them in ciphers, but words.

¹⁷¹ All the calculations of Saracen booty in Egypt and Syria are even more extravagant, and justify the suspicions of Gibbon, though he had no right to arraign the accuracy of Ulmaïn's translator, Erpenius—"felicissimus ille Arabicarum literarum instaurator,"—as he is styled by Hottinuer. I conceive that we have not yet got the proper equivalent of the early dinar and diham. Renaud, *Sarrazins*, 104, 192; Univ. Pitt. Asia, V. Arabie, 317.

revenue of the different provinces of the Khilafat. Thus, we find that the province of Sind yielded annually a sum of 11,500,000 dirhams, and 150 pounds of aloe-wood, Multan being, most probably, included, as it is not mentioned among the other provinces. Of the neighbouring provinces, Makran is set down at 400,000 dirhams; Sijistan at 4,600,000 dirhams, 300 variegated robes, and 20,000 pounds of sweetmeats;¹⁷² Kirman at 4,200,000 dirhams, 500 precious garments, 20,000 pounds of dates, and 1,000 pounds of caraway seeds;¹⁷³ Tukharistan at 106,000 dirhams; Kabul at 1,500,000 dirhams, and 1,000 head of cattle, amounting to 700,000 dirhams more; Fars at 27,000,000 dirhams, 30,000 bottles of rose-water, and 20,000 bottles of black currants;¹⁷⁴ Bamian at 5,000 dirhams; and Bust at 90,000 dirhams.

These amounts are to be considered merely approximate, because the revenues, unless where they were assessed at a fixed sum, varied every year according to the abundance or scarcity, of the crop.

It may, at first, admit of doubt, whether these sums represent land-tax merely, or all the taxes in the aggregate. Ibn Khurdadba and Ibn Haukal specially say "land-tax." Ibn Khaldun uses the term "revenue." This is the more remarkable, as it will be observed from the notes, that his statements contain the lowest sums. The two accounts, of course, refer to different epochs, and frequently to different limits, which were arbitrary and fluctuating, just as our Domesday Book, having been compiled by different sets of commissioners, represents a different status in different passages, though the names of persons, classes, and tenures may be in every other respect identical. As an instance, in our Arabic record of these variations, we find it stated, under Fars, that "Amran bin Musa, the Barmekide, added Sind to this province, so the revenue amounted, after defraying all expenses, to 10,000,000 dirhams." The remark in itself is not particularly intelligible, but its very obscurity makes it serve the better as an illustration. It is probable

¹⁷² Ibn Khurdadba says 6,776,000 dirhams.

¹⁷³ Ibn Khurdadba says 5,000,000 dirhams, and under the Khusrû 60,000,000—the limits of the province being, of course, different. The amounts entered in the text rest on the authority of Ibn Khaldun.

¹⁷⁴ Ibn Khurdadba says 30,000 dirhams, but I suspect error.

that, in so large an empire, the limits of the provinces were frequently subject to alteration, to suit the views and interest of favoured governors; and that they were also, without any such personal bias, sometimes fixed on an ethnical, sometimes on a geographical, basis. Another cause of variation has been suggested—namely, that the greatest part of what had been delivered in kind in the time of Marwan, to which Ibn Khaldun refers, was paid in money in the time of Ibn Khurdadba. This is probable, and is the natural course of fiscal transition all over the world.

But, after giving due weight to all these considerations, the sums set down against some of the provinces are so large—whether we take the higher or lower amount, or the earlier or later date—that we must conceive them to embrace the entire collections of every kind, and must be allowed the liberty of construing *kharaj* in its enlarged sense of 'tribute,' rather than its limited one of 'land-tax,'—just, indeed, as it is so considered at the present day in Turkey.¹⁷⁵ The assessment upon Sind and Multan,--being 11,500,000 dirhams, or about £270,000,—must be considered moderate, if it is intended to comprise the land-tax, the poll-tax, the customs duties, and all miscellaneous items into the bargain; but it is not an improbable amount, when we contemplate the liberal alienations and reserves, which have been alluded to at the commencement of this Note, as well as the change in the value of money. Under the Talpurs, notwithstanding that many large and productive tracts were afforested by them, Sind is said to have occasionally yielded £400,000; and under the Kalhoras, tradition represents the revenue at the exaggerated amount of £800,000. At present, with security on all its borders, and tranquillity within them, it does not pay to the British Government more than £300,000, and the expenses have been hitherto more than double that sum. This deficiency, however, cannot last long, for its cultivation and commerce are rapidly on the increase.

The Arab governors may be considered in the light of farmers-general, for they usually bound themselves to pay to the Khalif the sums at which the various provinces,—after allowance made for ordinary expenses,—were set

¹⁷⁵ Des Osmanischen Reichs Staats-verfassung. *Contempor.* Hist. of the Othman Empire. p. 366

down in the public register. Where the disbursements were left to their discretion, and where the revenues were not fixed, but dependant upon the seasons, we may presume that, on the plea of frontier wars, local services, and internal tumults, very little was ever remitted to the capital from the remote provinces of the empire; for the governors themselves were the judges of these necessities—the declaration of peace or war being left to their arbitrary determination and pleasure.

The ordinary revenue, which they were entitled to collect from the provinces committed to them, was derived from the land-tax, and from the capitation-tax upon those who had not embraced the Muhammadan religion; but there were many miscellaneous cesses besides, which, in the aggregate, yielded large returns, and contributed to swell their profits.

The land-tax was usually rated at two-fifths of the produce of wheat and barley, if the fields were watered by public canals; three-tenths, if irrigated by wheels or other artificial means; and one-fourth, if altogether unirrigated. If arable land were left uncultivated, it seems to have paid one dirham per *jarib*, and one-tenth of the probable produce, but the statement is not clear upon this point. Of dates, grapes, and garden produce, one-third was taken, either in kind or money; and one-fifth (*khums*) of the yield of wines, fishing, pearls, and generally of any product not derived from cultivation, was to be delivered in kind, or paid in value, even before the expenses had been defrayed. One-fifth of the value of slaves and booty was reserved for the Khalif. The customs and transit dues, for which unbelievers had to pay a double rate, and the taxes on trades and manufactures, and handicrafts, were also important sources of public revenue.¹⁷⁶

These taxes were according to the original institutes of

¹⁷⁶ See Biog. Diet., I. U. K. v. "H. Mamun," where the revenue table is given at length. It is also in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. VII. p. 362, et seq., and in *Hammer-Purgstall's*, die *Landverwaltung unter dem Chalifate*, 39; and in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, v. "Caliph." The *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXX. p. 52, contains the most comprehensive of all these tables, with very useful remarks appended, to which the foregoing paragraphs are indebted. See also *L'Univers Pitt Asie*, v. : *Arabie*, 403, 404.

'Umar, when he assessed the Sawad, or cultivated lands of Irak; but, in course of time, they were everywhere greatly enhanced, even to one-half of the produce of the land, or rather according to the ability of the people to pay. In short, the rates above-mentioned were merely a nominal value put upon the land: for the collection of the revenues was, in many instances, left to rapacious farmers, who covered their contracts and benefitted themselves besides, at the expense of the cultivators. The same course of proceeding was observed by the agents of the Caliphs to the latest period of their rule in Sind, and was one of the chief causes which contributed to the impoverishment of the country.¹⁷⁷

Moreover, the absence of an accurate measurement must have rendered all such assessments nugatory and fictitious; for it was only in the Sawad, above referred to, which was the small tract lying immediately around the future capital of the Khalifs, that there was anything like predecessors than themselves. Gibbon says, "the administration of Persia was regulated by an actual survey of the people, the cattle, and the fruits of the earth; and this monument, which attests the vigour of the caliphs, might have instructed the philosophers of every age." In this, he is by no means borne out by the passage which he quotes as his authority from the *Chorographia* of Theophanes, and moreover an extended sense has been given to "Persia", which really applies only to a remote corner of that large empire.¹⁷⁸

Besides this ordinary land-tax, we read in the *Chach-nama*, of other burdens laid upon Sindian cultivators, which seem to have been independent of the former such as the

¹⁷⁷ The little confidence to be placed in the apparent moderation of recorded rates, may be exemplified by modern practice in Sind, where we are told that "it was not uncommon for the government to collect vast quantities of grain for the supply of troops, when any military expedition was on foot, in which case the ruler made no scruple of seizing a half of the produce of the whole country, leaving the farmer to settle with the cultivator the best he could." Capt. McMurdo, *Journal R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I., p. 230.

¹⁷⁸ Decline and Fall, chap. li. note 32. On the Sawad of Irak and Baghdad, see *Abu-l Fida*, *Geogr.*, pp. 52, 307. *Marasidul Ihtila*, ed. Juynboll, Vol. II., p. 63.

baj, and the *'ushari*.¹⁷⁹ Other extraordinary conditions were occasionally imposed on some of the tribes. We have seen above, under Mu'tasim, that the Jats dwelling beyond the river Aral were compelled to bring a dog on each occasion of paying their respects, besides being branded upon the hand. The Bhatia, Lohana, Sihta, Jandar, Madoi, and Goreja tribes had also peculiar duties devolving upon them.

Sumptuary laws, moreover, were established, and enforced with great stringency. Certain tribes were prohibited from wearing fine linen, from riding on horses, and from covering their heads and feet. If they committed theft, their women and children were burnt to death. Others had to protect caravans, and to furnish guides to Muhammadans.¹⁸⁰

The natives were also enjoined, in conformity with an old law of 'Umar's, to feed every Muhammadan traveller for three days and nights. It must be confessed, however, that many of these laws were already established under the Brahman rulers; unless, as seems not improbable, the Muhammadan aspect about these ancient institutions der-

¹⁷⁹ Literally, "tithe-lands," like the *Decumates Agri* of the Romans; see Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. 29. Respecting the law of *'ushari*, see Hamilton's *Hedaya*, Harington's *Analysis*, Vol. I, Galloway's *Law and Constit. of India*, N. B. F. Baulhe's *Land-tax of India* according to Muh. Law.

Legally, no land was subject both to *kharaj* and *'ushari*, but it may be questioned whether the Sindian *'ushari*, though it was confessedly considered as an indulgence, is to be construed in its strict legal application. The parties from whom it was taken were the people of Nairn and the Channas west of the Indus, of whom we still find a remnant not far from Manchhar lake, and from whom the Kalhoras are in reality descended, notwithstanding their various attempts to disguise the humiliating fact. Renouard conjectures that the Kalhoras are Kurds, because the *Jahan-nama* mentions that name among the Kurdish clans. There may possibly have been some connection between them and the converted Channas, for we know that Kurds are to be found as far eastward as Gandara.

¹⁸⁰ So Abu 'Ubaida, on the conquest of Emesa, imposed upon such as chose to remain in infidelity a ransom of five gold-pieces a head besides an annual tribute, and caused their names to be registered in a book, giving them back their wives and children, on condition that they should act as guides and interpreters to the Moslems in case of need.—H. Irving, *Successors of Mahomet*, pp. 60, 261. see Kemble's *Saxons in England*, I. 294.

ives its hue from the prejudices of the historian who records them.

But whatever were the peculiar features of some of the local imposts, all the unconverted tribes were, without exception, liable to the capitation-tax (*nzva*), which, as it was a religious as well as a political duty to collect, was always exacted with rigour and punctuality, and frequently with insult.¹⁸¹

The levy of this impost in Sind from those who had not embraced Islam, was considered so important at the very earliest period, that we find Hajjaj sending another person into the province to collect it, even during Muhammad Kasim's government. "Abu Khufas Kutayba bin Muslim came on the part of Hajjaj, and returned to Khurasan, after leaving his agents to collect the poll-tax from the infidels, and, after a time, Tamim bin Zaid came from Hajjaj on the same errand."¹⁸²

According to the original ordinance of 'Umar, those persons who were of any persuasion non-Muhammadan were called *Zimmis*, or those under protection, and were assessed with a toleration, or poll-tax, at the following rates. A person in easy circumstances had to pay 48 dirhams a year, one of moderate means 24 dirhams, and one in an inferior station, or who derived his subsistence from manual labour, 12 dirhams. Women, children and persons unable to work paid nothing. But a century had not elapsed when 'Umar the Second, considering these rates too moderate, calculated what a man could gain during the year, and what he could subsist on, and claimed all the rest amounting to four or five dinars, about two pounds a year.

As the tax ceased upon any one's becoming a Muslim when he was enfranchised from his dependence, and was invested with the privileges of a citizen and companion, its severe enforcement as often found more efficacious than argument or persuasion in inducing the victims to offer themselves as converts to the faith. For the professing Muhammadan had but to pay the tithe for alms, and the import and export duties of one in forty, or two and a-half

¹⁸¹ Price, *Retrospect of Muhammed History*, vol. i. pp. 169

¹⁸² *Tuhfatul Kiram*, MS. pp. 18

per cent.,¹⁸⁴ and he was free from all other imposts; but, when the original principles of the government began to be departed from, when the once vigorous administration became feeble and degenerate, and the Khalifs appropriated to themselves a large proportion of the revenues which the Kuran had assigned to God, the Prophet, and his relations, then the Muhammadans themselves also became subject, as well as the protected people, to new tallages and cesses, insomuch that the severity of the pressure occasioned general discontent, and often resulted in revolution and bloodshed.

Hence we find Ibn Khaldun, the most philosophic of all the Arabian writers upon history and social economy, thus speaking of the effect of these exactions upon the government which introduced them :—"With the progress of luxury the wants of government and its servants increased, and their zeal diminished; so that it became requisite to employ more people, and to give them higher pay. Consequently, the taxes were gradually increased, till the proprietors and working classes were unable to pay them, which led to continual changes in the government."

This increased employment of officials had no reference to those maintained for the distribution of justice to the people. In a country like Sind, where the mass of the nation professed their ancient religion, there were no tribunals for the purpose of adjudicating suits between members of that despised and depressed race. The power of life and death was exercised by every chief who could maintain the slightest show of independence, as well as by the Amirs, but, under the latter, legal formalities were more rigorously, if not justly observed. The Kazi, who was appointed to the judgment-seat by their orders, professed, in controversies between Muhammadans, to decide according to the precepts of the Kuran; while even between Hindus and Muhammadans the same unerring guide was appealed to, under which, of course, the former obtained a very small modicum of justice. Public and political offences, whether by one party or the other, were tried by the same standard, but in all suits for debts, contracts, adultery, inheritance

¹⁸⁴ In Muhammadan Spain this duty was as high as twelve and a-half per cent. on small commodities—See Reinaud's *Sarrazins*, 280

the rights of property, and the like the Hindus -being left without any form of law or any established judiciary to appeal to—had to accommodate their own differences, and, therefore, maintained their *panchayats*, or arbitration committees, in full efficiency. It was fortunate, under these circumstances, that the public opinion of the caste, as expressed in these domestic and self-constituted *tola*, operated more strongly upon their minds, sentiments, and actions, than rewards and punishments derived from higher and holier sanctions.

To the Hindus, indeed, the public tribunals were only the means of extortion and forcible conversion, as they have proved themselves to be to the very latest period of Muhammadan dominion in Sind, under which there were judicial penalties for riding on horseback especially with a saddle; under which, the wearing of beads and the adoption of Muhammadan costume were compulsory, and under which, religious processions and even music were altogether prohibited¹⁸¹. Hence there was, and could be no sympathy between the conquerors and the conquered, arising from confidence in the purity of justice for the primary obligations, inseparably connected with the institutions of political society, were utterly ignored by the Arab rulers of Sind, and no regard was had to that which Milton calls—

The solid rule of civil and criminal

In which is plainest that the lawest learn
What makes a nation happy and keeps it so
What turns kingdoms cold and starveth the

It is expedient that these matters should be often brought back to remembrance and pondered on, for the inhabitants of modern India, as well as our clamorous demagogues at home, are very apt to forget the very depth of degradation from which the great mass of the people have been raised, under the protection of British supremacy.

¹⁰⁰ *Dr. Burnes, Visit to the Court of Sindh*, pp. 72-75; *Captain McMurdo, Journal R. As. Soc. Ind. I*, pp. 249-252; *Lieut. Barton Sindh*, p. 358; and *Unhappy Valley, Ind. I*, pp. 225-229; *Capt. Poyntans' Personal Observations on Sindh*, pp. 159, 258; *Sir A. Burnes Cabool*, p. 15.

In reflecting on the causes which accelerated the downfall of the Khalif's dominion in Sind, one of the most obvious and powerful accessories which offers itself to our view, as conspiring towards that end, is the diversity of interests and feelings among the several tribes which achieved and confirmed the conquest. No long time elapsed, after the first glow of enthusiasm had died away, and given place to more sober sentiments, when the Arabs showed themselves as utterly incapable, as the shifting sands of their own desert, of coalescing into a system of concord and subordination. The passions which agitated these hordes in their ancient abodes, the hereditary feuds and blood-revenge, which had even formed the dates of eras among their Bedouin ancestors, and which could be revived in all their bitterness by the recital of a ballad, a lampoon, or a proverb, were not allayed, but fostered, by transplantation from their original soil.¹⁸⁵ And so it was in Spain; crowds of adventurers poured in who preferred a distant fortune to poverty at home. Emigrants from Damascus occupied Granada and Cordova; Seville and Malaga were planted by settlers from Emesa and Palestine; the natives of Yemen and Persia were scattered about Toledo; and the fertile valleys of the South were partitioned among 10,000 horsemen from Syria and 'Irak. These, as in Sind, all became so many rival factions eager in the pursuit of power, mutually rancorous and hostile, and cherishing, in the pride and petulance of their hearts, the most invidious distinctions of races and precedence.¹⁸⁶

Even as early as the deposition and recall of Muhammad Kasim, we find him alluding to the clannish feud between the Sakifis and Sakasaks. "Had he chosen to appeal to the sword," he exclaims, "no cavaliers of the tribes of Sakasak or 'Akk could have wrested from him the country he had conquered, or laid violent hands upon his person." These

¹⁸⁵ Pocock, Specimen Histor. Arab. pp. 43, 178; Sale, Koran, Vol. I. p. 233; Foster, Mahom. Unveiled, Vol. I. p. 6.

¹⁸⁶ Crichton, Arabia and its People, p. 339; Dunham, History of Spain, Vol. IV. p. 2; Procter, Encyclopaedia Metrop., Vol. XI. p. 294. All of whom are indebted, more or less, originally to Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. li. ad finem; and he, with his usual honesty of acknowledgment, to Casiri, Biblioth Arab-Hispan., Tom. II. pp. 32, 252.

were both Yamanian tribes; the first was descended from Saksak bin Ashrab, and the second was an offshoot of the great tribe of Azd, which, under Muhallab, was the first to carry the Arab arms into India, and which rendered itself so conspicuous in the conquest of Khurasan.¹⁸⁷ The Sakifi tribe, to which Muhammad Kasim belonged, was originally from Taif, about fifty miles southeast of Mecca. It continues a powerful people to this day, possessing the same fertile region on the eastern declivity of the Hajjaz chain of mountains. In the wars of the Wahabs, they defended their ancient stronghold of Taif with a spirit worthy of their ancestors.

We have seen above, under the Khilafat of Mu'tasim, that the rancour, which prevailed between the Yamanian and Nizarian tribes, again broke out into open hostility in Sind. It was not, however, in Sind only but wherever the Muhammadan standard was displayed, that these to great divisions were arrayed against each other; and as this feeling operated as one of the main causes of the success of the 'Abbasides against the Ummayyides, its original malignity could not fail to be aggravated in every Moslim country, as long as the remembrance of that change of dynasty survived.

What imparted additional acerbity to these feuds in Sind, was the persecution of the adherents of 'Ali, which, though with some intermissions, especially about Mamun's time, was maintained with considerable rigour during the period of Arab occupation. We have in the receding note seen some instances of these religious quarrels, and they must have been of frequent occurrence in Sind; for its position on the remote eastern frontier of the Empire, and the difficulty of access to it over mountains and barren sands, must have offered a promising asylum to political refugees, of which we have ample evidence that they readily availed themselves. Hence heterodoxy, during the period of the Khilafat, flourished with unusual vigour in Sind and Makran; and hence such schismatics as Kharijis, Zindikis, Khwajas, Shariites, and the like, as well as Mulahida, or atheists of various denominations, thrived, and propa-

¹⁸⁷ *The Imam of Muscat is an Azdi.—Enc. Metr. v. Oman.*

gated ;¹⁸⁸ more especially the Karmatians, who, after being first introduced through this kingdom, maintained their hold in Western and Northern India long after they were suppressed in other provinces of the Empire.

The 'Alite refugees have preserved many traces of their resort to Sind, to which we may refer the unusual proportion of Saiyid families to this day resident in that country, the names of such places as Lakk-'alavi and Mut-'alavi,¹⁸⁹ founded and still inhabited by 'Alites, and the many Saiyids of even Eastern India, who trace their first settlements to Thatta, Bhakkar, and other places in the valley of the Indus.

These vague reminiscences, indeed, may be considered to comprise one of the most enduring monuments of Arab dominion in Sind. They were almost the only legacy the Arabs left behind them ; affording a peculiar contrast in this respect to the Romans, after they had held Britain for the same period of three centuries. Notwithstanding that their possession was partial and unstable, our native soil teems with their buildings, camps, roads, coins, and utensils, in a manner to show how completely they were the master-spirits of that remote province.¹⁹⁰ But with regard to the Arab dominion in Sind, it is impossible for the traveller to wander through that land, without being struck with the absence of all record of their occupation. In language, architecture, arts, traditions, customs, and manners, they have left but little impress upon the country or the people. We trace them, like the savage Sikhs, only in the ruins of their predecessors ; and while Mahfuza, Baiza, and Mansura have so utterly vanished, that "*etiam periere ruinae.*" the older sites of Bhambur, Alor, Multan, and Sihwan still survive to proclaim the barbarism and cruelty of their destroyers. It has, indeed, been observed, as a circumstance worthy of remark, that no people ever constructed so many edifices as the Arabs, who extracted fewer materials from the quarry : the buildings of their first settlers being every-

¹⁸⁸ See Weil, II. 15 ; Burton, 249.

¹⁸⁹ The latter is now better known as Matari. The two great families of Lakkyari and Matari Saiyids constitute the Majaveers, or attendants at the shrine of the celebrated saint, La'l Shah-baz of Sihwan.

¹⁹⁰ See William of Malmesbury, *Gest Reg Lib.* 1. cap. i

where raised from the wrecks of cities, castles, and fortresses which they had themselves destroyed.¹⁹¹

With respect to the descendants of the early Arab conquerors, we find it stated, by two local historians, that when 'Abdu-r Razzak, Wazir of Sultan Mahmud, and the first Ghaznvide governor of Sind, was in the year 415 H. (1024 A.D.) directed to proceed to that country from Multan,¹⁹² and that when, after having captured Bhakkar, and established his power upon a firm basis, he proceeded in 417 to Siwistan and Thatta, he found in those places, among the descendants of old Arab settlers, "only a very few, who had remained bound, as it were, to the country by family ties and encumbrances; and who, being men of learning and ability, were at that time holding posts of honour, and in the enjoyment of certain religious endowments."¹⁹³

Eighteen Sindian families, or tribes, are said to have sprung from these ancestors:—the Sakifi,¹⁹⁴ Tamim, Mughairide, 'Abbasi, Sadiki, Faruki, 'Usmani, Pahanwar,¹⁹⁵ Manki,¹⁹⁶ Chabria, Bin-i Asad, 'Utbi, Bin-i Abi Sufyan,¹⁹⁷ Bajaride,¹⁹⁸ and the Bin-i Jarima Ansari, who were the progenitors of the tribe of Sapyā, the lords of Siwistan. To these are to be added the Jats and Buluchis, descendants of Harun Makrani. I will be observed that, although the families are said to be eighteen, the enumeration extends to

¹⁹¹ Crichton's Arabia and its People, p. 426

¹⁹² The period of his departure from Multan is not clearly stated by either authority. One seems to say 414, the other 416. Now, as Mahmud was, during Ramadan 415, in Multan, on his way to Somnat, that appears to be a more probable year than either of the other two.

¹⁹³ Tuhfatu-l Kiram, MS. p. 21. Mo Ma'sum says that the Wazir turned the Arabs out of these places, but that "some who had families, and were respectable and learned men, had high situations conferred upon them according to law,"—i.e., they were appointed to judicial offices.—Tarikh-i Sind, MS. p. 38.

¹⁹⁴ The original Kazis of Alor and Bhakkar. From this family was descended the author of the Chach-nama.

¹⁹⁵ The descendants of Haris. ¹⁹⁶ A branch of the Tamim.

¹⁹⁷ Of this tribe are many of the darweshes of Rail, on the right bank of the Indus, opposite to Haidarabad. Among these celebrated saints are to be included the ancestors of Shaikh Abu-l Fazl, as shown in his work, styled the Kachkul.

¹⁹⁸ Occupants of Jangar, about ten miles west from Sihwan.

only seventeen, unless the Sapyā and the descendants of Jarima Ansari are reckoned as two.

The same authority mentions, that some of the tribes now in Sind, and who appear from their names and occupations to have been originally Hindu, are in reality descendants of the Arabs. Thus, the Thim were originally Tamim; the Morya are pronounced to be descendants from Mukhaira; and the Sumra are likewise held to be the offspring of adventurers from Samarra, who accompanied the Tamim in great numbers. All these affiliations are gratuitous guesses, and about as probable as the one mentioned in the preceding paragraph, of the descent of the Jats and Buluchis from Harun Makrani. But that some of the inferior tribes are descendants of the Arabs is by no means opposed to reason or probability, and this more especially among those now classed as Buluchis. The Rind, for instance, when they assert that they came originally from Aleppo and Damascus, may have truth on their side; but we should be cautious in admitting nominal resemblances or ambitious genealogies; especially where, as in the case of the Sumras, Sammas, Daudputras, and Kalhoras, there has been a political purpose to serve, and sycophants ready at all times to pander to a despot's aspirations.

The Sumra Dynasty

The assignment of this dynasty to its veritable lineage and proper period among the rulers of Sind, is one of the most difficult problems with which we have to deal in the history of Muhammadan India; and the obscurities and inconsistencies of the native accounts have by no means been cleared by the European comments which have been made upon them.

Our first informant is Mir Ma'sum, whose account has been given at length in the Extracts from his history. He tells us that in the time of 'Abdu-r Rashid, Sultan Mas'ud, 443 A.H., 1051 A.D., the men of the Sumra tribe revolted from the rule of Ghazni, and placed on the throne of Sind a man of the name of Sumra. He closes his unsatisfactory account by saying:—"If any of my friends know more on this subject, let them publish it; I have said all I can upon the matter."

Abu-l Fazl gives us no information in the *Ayn-i Akbari* (Vol. II. p. 120), beyond the announcement that there were thirty-six Sumra princes, who reigned 500 years.

Firishta seems afraid of venturing on this difficult and doubtful ground. He merely observes (Vol. IV. p. 411.) that, on the death of Muhammad Kasim, a tribe, tracing their origin from the Ansaris, established their government in Sind; after which, the Sumra Zamindars reigned for 500 years;¹⁹⁹ but he adds, "neither the names nor the history of these princes are at present extant, since I have failed in my endeavour to procure them. In the course of years (although we have no account of the precise period) the dynasty was subverted by that of the Sammas,²⁰⁰ whose chief assumed the title of Jam. During the reigns of these dynasties, the Muhammadan kings of Ghazni, Ghor, and Dehli invaded Sind, and seizing many of the towns, appointed Muhammadan governors over them."

The *Tarikh-i Tahir* (MS. p. 25.) says their dominion lasted for only 143 years, from 700 to 843 H., that they were Hindus, that Alor was within their dominions, and that their capital was Muhammad-Tur, in the Pargana of Dirak. Duda is made contemporary of 'Alau-d Din, and the popular stories relating to Dalu Rai and 'Umar Sumra are given at length.

The *Beg-Lar-nama* (MS. p. 8) merely observes that, after the Muhammadan conquest, men of the Tamam tribe governed Sind, and after some time, the Sumras succeeded them, occupying the seat of government for 505 years; their capital being Muhatampur.

Muhammad Yusuf says in his *Muntakhab-i Tawarikh* that when Sultan 'Abdu-r Rashid, son of Sultan Mahmud, inherited the kingdom of Ghazni the people of Sind, finding him an indolent and weak-minded monarch, began to be refractory and contumacious, and in A.H. 445 (1053 A.D.), the men of the tribe of Sumra, having assembled

¹⁹⁹ The *Kanzu-l Mahin*, on the authority of the *Faiz-i Bahar*, shahi says the Sumras lasted for 504 years after the amlak Tamam Ansari.

²⁰⁰ The words of this sentence as given by Gen. Briggs, are "the dynasty of Soomura subverted the country of another chief called Soomuna, whose chief," &c. See H. Elliot's emendation is obviously necessary.

around Tharri, seated a man named Sumra on the cushion of government. He ruled independently for a length of time, and left as successor a son, Bhungar, born to him by a daughter of a Zamindar named Sad. Bhungar, after ruling 15 years, departed to the world of eternity in A.H. 461, and left a son named Duda, who after a rule of 24 years, died A.H. 485 ;²⁰¹ then Sanghar reigned for 15 years ; Hafif, 33 years ; 'Umar, 40 years ; Duda II. 14 years ; Pahtu, 33 years ; Genhra, 16 years ; Muhammad Tur, 15 years ; Genhra II. several years ; Duda III. 14 years ; Tai, 24 years Chanesar, 18 years ; Bhungar II. 15 years ; Hafif II. 18 years ; Duda IV. 25 years ; 'Umar Sumra, 35 years ; Bhungar III. 10 years. Then the government fell to Hamir, who was deposed by the tribe of Samma, on account of his tyranny.²⁰²

The latest native authority is the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* (MS. pp. 21, 26, 126), which, in one passage, says that the Sumra tribe sprang from the Arabs of Samira, who arrived in Sind in the second century of the Hijra, accompanying the Tamim family, who became governors of Sind under the 'Abbasides ; that the whole term of their sway may be reckoned at 550 years, as they were mere nominal tributaries during the last two centuries of the 'Abbaside government, and enjoyed full independence when the greater part of Sind was held by the officers of the Ghaznvide and Ghori kings.

In another passage we are informed that they were invited to Sind by Chhota Amrani, who being grieved at the injustice of his brother, the famous Dalu Rai, repaired to Baghdad, and obtained from the Khalif one hundred Arabs of Samira, whom he brought to Sind, together with Saiyid 'Ali Musavi, who married Dalu Rai's daughter, and left descendants, now inhabiting the town of Mut'alavi.

When Ghazi Malik, in the year 720 H. (1320 A.D.), marched towards Dehli with an army collected from Multan and Sind, overthrew Khusru Khan, and assumed the title of Ghiasu-d din Tughlik Shah, the tribe of Sumra took

²⁰¹[See the passage from Malet's translation of Mir Ma'sum, in another volume.]

²⁰²[This passage is quoted in the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*, and another translation of it will be found elsewhere.]

advantage of his being occupied with the affairs of those distant parts, and collecting together from the neighbourhood of Tharri, chose a person named Sumra as their ruler. He established perfect tranquillity throughout the country, and married a daughter of a Zamindar, named Sad, who made pretensions to independence. His wife bore him a son named Bhungar by whom he was succeeded. His son Dura succeeded him, and acquired possession of the country as far as Nasrpur. He left an infant son, named Singhar. Tari, daughter of Duda, assumed the reins of government till Singhar became of age. He, when installed in power, marched towards Kaehh, and extended his territory as far as Nagnai. As he died childless, his wife Himu appointed her own brothers to the governorship of the cities of Tur and Tharri. A short time after this, another Duda, a Sumra, governor of the Fort of Dhak, assembled his kinsmen from the neighbourhood, and destroyed Himu's brothers. While this was going on, Pahtu, a son of Duda, raised an insurrection, and held authority for a short time ; after which, a man named Khaira obtained the principality. Then Armil undertook the burden of government, but as he proved to be a tyrant, the tribe of Samma rose against him, and slew him in A.H. 752 (1351 A.D.). So far the "confusion worse confounded" of the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*.²⁰³

The attempts of European authors to explain these discrepancies are not successful.

Pottinger informs us that "Hakims were regularly sent from court (Ghazni) to this province, until the reign of Musaood, the son of Muhmood, when a great tribe, called Soomruh, appeared in arms and expelled all the partizans of the king; but their chief, whose name was Sunghar, immediately making an apology for this outrage, and offering to pay tribute to the amount of the revenues before collected, he was pardoned, and appointed governor, in the stead of the person he had deposed. The tribute was paid with great regularity for one hundred and fifty years after this arrangement, when the Empire of Ghuznee was overturned by the Ghoorian dynasty; on which the Soom-

²⁰³ See elsewhere.

ruhs, in whose tribe the government of Sinde had gradually been allowed to become hereditary, declared themselves in a state of independence, and although they were repeatedly worsted in the wars that followed this declaration, yet they managed to preserve their liberty till the final extinction of the race, or at least the princes of it, in the person of Duhooda, who died without children, in the year of the Hijree, 694, about 335 years from the time his ancestors had first made themselves so conspicuous.

"On the demise of Duhooda, numerous candidates for the vacant government started up, and it was a continual struggle for nearly a century who should succeed to it. Among the last of them, two brothers, called Kheeramull and Uruknull successively held it for a time, but at length the tyranny of the latter became insupportable, and the head of the tribe of Sumuh went to his palace, accompanied by the ministers of the country, and put him to death. The populace with one accord elected this chief, who had relieved them from so dreadful a scourge, their king, and he was accordingly placed on their throne, with the title of Jam, or leader, which he was said to have adopted from his family being descended from the celebrated Jamshed, king of Persia."²⁰⁴

Dr. Bird, relying on some Persian authorities, including the *Tarikh-i Sind*, tells us that the Sumras, who became first known in the Indian history in the reign of Mahmud of Ghazni, were originally Muhammadans descended from Aboulahil, an uncle of the Prophet, and that one of the tribe who, in the beginning of the eleventh century of our era, obtained power in Sind, married into the family of Samma, and had a son named Bhaonagar. The chief who had been thus placed at the head of the tribe was named Hallah, the son of Chotah, a descendant of Omar Sumra, first of the family mentioned in their history. Contemporary with Chotah was Deva Rai, sometimes called Dilu Rai, the ruler of Alore. "The son born to Hallah had for his descendants Dodar, Singhar, Hanif, and others, who appear to have originally possessed the Dangah pergunnah in the Registan, sandy desert, from whence they extended themselves into the pergunnahs of Thurr, Sammawati, Rupah.

²⁰⁴ *Travels in Beloochistan*, pp. 391

and Nasirpur." Dr. Bird adds, that nothing satisfactory regarding them is to be found in any Indian author, except the statement of their descent from the family of the Prophet, in which, therefore, he seems to concur. "They derive their name," he continues, "from the city of Saumrah, on the Tigris; and appear to have sprung from the followers of Tamim Ansari, mixed with the Arab tribes of Tamim and Kureish. * * * "In Masudi's time, many chiefs of the Arabs descended from Hamzah, the uncle of the prophet, and Ali, his cousin, were then subject (to the chief of Mansura). To these ancestors we may trace the Saiyids of Sind, and the family of the Sumrahs."²⁰⁵

The difficulty of solving this question is shown by so confused a statement written by a well-informed author.

Elphinstone observes that, "Kasim's conquests were made over to his successor Temim, in the hands of whose family they remained for thirty-six years, till the downfall of the Ummayyides, when, by some insurrection, of which we do not know the particulars, they were expelled by the Sumras, and all their Indian conquests were restored to the Hindus; part of the expelled Arabs, according to Firishta, having found a settlement among the Afghans." And, again, that "after the expulsion of the Arabs in 750 A.D., Sind, from Bhakkar to the sea, was ruled by the Sumra Rajputs, until the end of the twelfth century, that it is uncertain when they first paid tribute to the Muhammadans, probably, the beginning of that century, under Shahabu-din, or his immediate successor." Here, the whole period of the 'Abbaside governors, and of the independent rulers of Multan and Mansura and the Karmatians, is entirely neglected. So important an omission by such a writer teaches us, as in the preceding paragraph, how obscure are the annals with which we have to deal.²⁰⁶

In calling the Sumras Rajputs, Elphinstone is without doubt correct, for notwithstanding the assertions of the local writers, the real fact must be admitted, that the Sumras are not of Arab descent at all, and that this fictitious genealogoy was assumed by them, when the majority of

²⁰⁵ *Sketch of the History of Cutch*, Appendix vi., *Visit to the Court of Sind*, p. 10, and again, *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 126.

²⁰⁶ *History of India*, Vol. I. pp. 228, 511.

the tribe were converted to Islam ; and that, as the name of Samarra offered a sufficiently specious resemblance, that town was adopted as the probable seat of their origin, though it was not built after the supposed period of their emigration.²⁰⁷

That the Sumaras were not Moslems during at least the early period of their sway, seems to be proved by their names, though this argument is not quite decisive, for down to modern times in Sind, Muhammadan converts have been occasionally allowed to retain their Hindu names. Still reasoning generally, the retention of Hindu names points, *prima facie*, to the probability of the retention of the native religion. Now, when we come to examine the Bhungars and Dudas among the Sumras, we find that even to the latest period, with one, or at most two, doubtful exceptions, they are all of native Indian origin. The fact of their being called "Hamir," in Sindian ballads (a probable corruption of "Amir") scarcely militates against this, as it was, both in ancient and modern times, a distinctive appellation of the rulers of Sind, and was only superseded where, as in the case of the Jams, there was a more familiar title of local origin. The ascription of so honourable an address and so high a lineage, is easily accounted for by the natural tendency to aggrandisement which has actuated all bards and minstrels, from Demodocus and Tyrtæus to the last prizeman of the Cambrian Eisteddfeld. That many of the tribe still continue Hindus, roaming as shepherds through the *thals* of Jesalmir and the Upper Dhat country to the east of Sind, we know from personal communication. Even if it might be admitted that, in the present day, they had forgotten their Arab origin, and lapsed into Hinduism from their former creed ; still, that could not have occurred at the very earliest period of their history, within a century or two of their emigration, and before their high and holy origin could possibly have been forgotten.

The Sumras of the desert are one of the subdivisions of the Pramara Rajputs, and from frequently combining with their brethren the 'Umars, gave name to a large tract of

²⁰⁷ The various modes of writing and pronouncing the name of this town are given in the *Marasidu-l Ittila'*, ed. Juynboll, II. 5, 27, but not one admits of a *u* in the first syllable.

country, which is even still recognized as 'Umra-Sumra, and within which Alor is situated. Renouard surmises that they may be "Som-Rai," that is, of the Lunar race, but, being without question of the Pramara stock, they are necessary Agni-kulas. Their successors and opponents, the Sammas, were of the Lunar race

It is not improbable that the Lumris, or Numaris, of Buluchistan may be of the same stock, who when they derive their lineage from Samar, the founder of Samarkand, may have been originally nothing but Sumras. This, however, would not be admissible, if they really have that consanguinity with the Bhatīs which they profess, and which would throw them also into the Lunar family.²⁰⁸

It is not only from passages which professedly treat of the Sunras that we know them to be Hindus, but from an incidental notice in foreign historians, such as the authors of the *Jahan-kusha* and the *Jam'i'u-t Tawarikh*, where, in writing of the expedition of Jalalu-d din to Sind, in 621 A.H. (1221 A.D.), they mention that, when he was approaching Debal, the ruler of that country, Hasrar, took to flight, and embarked on a boat, leaving the Sultan to enter the place without a contest, and erect mosques on the sites of the Hindu temples which he destroyed. This Hasrar is, in Firishta's account of the same expedition, named Jaisi, which, if it be correctly written, is more probably a titular than a personal designation, for we learn it was the name borne by the son of Dahir, who ruled in the same province, and was so called from the Sindhi word *jai*, "victory". It seems, however, not improbable that the name is neither Hasrar, nor Jaisi, nor Jaisar, but Chanesar, the popular hero of some of the Sindian legends respecting the Sumra family. Neither of the three other names is to be found amongst those of the Sumra rulers, and written without the diacritical points, they all vary but little from one another. Admitting this to be the case, we obtain a useful synchronism in the Sumra dynasty, notwithstanding that the local ballad of Dodo and Chanesar makes them contemporaries of Alau-d-din, a name more

²⁰⁸ Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I pp 92, 93, II 310-12; *Encyc Metropol.* Vol. XXIII. p 780, *Journ R Geog Soc.* Vol VII p. 14; Masson, *Journey to Kclat*, pp 298, 355

familiar to native ears than Shamsu-d din, the actual ruler of Dehli at that period, and his predecessor by nearly a whole century.

There is, however, one very curious passage in an author, whom we should have little expected to afford any illustration to the history of Sind, which would seem to prove that, before they apostatized from their ancestral faith to Islam, the Sumras had intermediately adopted the tenets of the Karmation heresy. In the sacred books of the Druses, we find an epistle of Muktana Bahau-d din, the chief apostle of Hamza, and the principal compiler of the Druse writings, addressed in the year 423 H. (1032 A.D.), to the *Unitarians of Multan and Hindustan in general, and to Shaikh Ibn Sumar Raja Bal in particular*.²⁰⁹ Here the name is purely Indian, and the patronymic can be no other than our Sumra. That some of that tribe, including the chiefs, had affiliated themselves to the Karmatians is more probable than the other alternative, suggested by M. Reinaud,²¹⁰ that certain Arabs had adopted indigenous denominations. It seems quite evident from this curious coincidence of names, that the party particularly addressed was a Sumra; that this Sumra was a Karmatian, successor of a member of the same schism, who bore in the time of Mahmud a Muhammadan name (Abu-l Fath Daud), and whose son was probably the younger Daud mentioned in the letter; and that the Karmatians of the valley of the Indus were in relation and correspondence, not only with those of Persia and Arabia, but with the Druses, who adored Hakim, the Fatimide Khalif of Egypt, as a God.

That the Karmatians obtained many converts to their infidel opinions is rendered highly probable by the difficulty

²⁰⁹ He calls Raja Bal the true descendant of Bothro and Houdel-hela, and mentions many other members of his family, some of whom have Arab, and others Indian names, eulogising their faith and virtues "Oh, illustrious Raja Bal, arouse your family, the Unitarians, and bring back Daud the younger into the true religion; for Mas'ud only delivered him from prison and bondage, that you might accomplish the ministry with which you were charged, against 'Abd-ulla, his nephew, and against all the inhabitants of Multan, so that the disciples of the doctrines of holiness, and of the unity, might be distinguished from the party of bewilderment, contradiction, ingenuity, and rebellion"

²¹⁰ *Memoire sur l'Inde*, p. 256

of accounting for their rapid conquest of Sind by any other supposition. Being merely refugees from Bahrein and Al Hassa after their successive defeats, mentioned in another note, and their subsequent persecution in Arabia, they could scarcely have traversed an inhospitable country, or undertaken a long sea voyage, in sufficient numbers, to appear suddenly with renovated power in Sind. Many Hindu converts doubtless readily joined them, both in the hope of expelling their present masters, and in the expectation of receiving a portion of their ancient patrimony for themselves, after the long exclusion under which they had groaned. One of the Buluch clans, indeed, still preserves the memory of its heresy, or that of its progenitor, in retaining its present title of Karmati.

Independent of the general dissemination of Shia' sentiments in the valley of the Indus, which favoured notions of the incorporation of the Godhead in Man, the old occupants of the soil must, from other causes, have been ready to acquiesce in the wild doctrines of the heretics, who now offered themselves for spiritual teachers, as well as political leaders. Their cursing of Muhammad, their incarnations of the deity; their types and allegories, their philosophy divided into exoteric and esoteric, their religious reticence; their regard for particular numbers, particularly seven and twelve; the various stages of initiation; their abstruse allusions; their mystical interpretations; their pantheistic theosophy, were so much in conformity with sentiments already prevalent amongst these willing disciples, that little persuasion could have been required to induce them to embrace so congenial a system of metaphysical divinity, of which the final degree of initiation, however cautiously and gradually the development was concealed, undoubtedly introduced the disciple into the regions of the most unalloyed atheism. So susceptible, indeed, must the native mind have been of these insidious doctrines, that Hammer-Purgstall and others, who have devoted much attention to these topics, have very reasonably concluded that the doctrines of these secret societies,—such as the Karmatians, Isma'ilians or Assassins, Druses, Batinis, and sundry others, which at various periods have devastated the Muhammadan world, and frequently threatened the

extinction of that faith,—though originally based upon the errors of the Gnostics, were yet largely indebted to the mystical philosophy and theology of Eastern nations, and especially of India, where the tenets of transmigration and of absorption into the Deity were even more familiar both to Buddhists and Brahmans than they were to these miserable schismatics.

The Hindu population, therefore, though they had much to dread from them, if it continued obstinately in the path of idolatry, was likely to offer a rich field of proselytism to such zealous fanatics as the Karmatians, or “people of the veil,” whose creed could not have been less attractive to an ignorant and superstitious multitude, from its eluding in many instances the grasp of human apprehension, and from its founder being announced, in profane and incomprehensible jargon, to be “the Guide ! the Director ! the Invitation ! the World ! the Holy Ghost ! the Demonstration ! the Herald ! the Camel !”

Assuming, then, that this Ibn Sumar, the ruler of Multan in 423 H. (1032 A.D.), was in reality a Sumra, we must date the commencement of the Sumra dynasty at least as early as that period, and most probably even before Mahmud’s death, in the lower course of the Indus ; for it has already been observed, on the authority of Ibn Asir, that Mahmud on his return from Sommat, in 416 H. (1025 A.D.), placed a Mumammadan chief in possession of Mansura ; for that the incumbent had abjured Islamism. So that the expelled ruler must necessarily have been a Karmation, or a Hindu ; and, in either case, doubtless a Sumra, who, in the distractions of the Ghazhivide Empire, would have allowed no long time to elapse before he recovered the dominions from which he had been expelled.

This re-establishment might have been delayed during the reign of Mas’ud, who is expressly mentioned by Baihaki as comprising all Sind within his dominions. The Sumras, indeed, may possibly have allowed a titular sovereignty to the Ghaznivides, even down to the time of ‘Abdu-r Rashid in 443 H. (1051 A.D.) ; or paid tribute as an acknowledgment of fealty ; but after that time, the advance of the Saljuks on the northern frontier of the empire, and the internal disorders of the government, must have offered

too favourable a conjuncture for them to profess any longer an even nominal sub-ordination to distant monarchs unable to enforce it.

The Sumra power could at no time have been extensive and absolute in Sind; and the passage translated elsewhere from the *Tuhfatu-kiram*, showing seven tributary chiefs in Sind in the time of Nasiru-d din, represents perhaps the true state of the country during a great portion of the so-called Sumra period. Moreover, this unfortunate province was subject to perpetual incursions from the Ghorian, Khilji, and Tughlik dynasties of Delhi and the Panjab, as well as the still more ruinous devastations of the Moghals. The retreats in their native deserts offered temporary asylums to the Sindians during these visitations, till it pleased the stronger power to retire, after ravaging the crops and securing their plunder; but, beyond the personal security which such inhospitable tracts offered, the Sumras could have enjoyed little freedom and independence, and can only claim to rank as a dynasty, from the absence of any other predominant tribe, or power, to assert better pretensions to that distinction.²¹

The Samma Dynasty

In considering the annals of this race, we are relieved from many of the perplexities which attend us during the preceeding period. After expelling the Sumras in 752 A.H. (1351 A.D.), the Sammas retained their power, till they were themselves displaced by the Arghuns in 927 A.H. (1521 A.D.). Some authorities assign an earlier, as well as later, date for the commencement of their rule. The *Beg Lar-nama* says 734 A.H. (1334 A.D.), making the dynasty last 193 years. The *Tarikh-i Tahir* says 843 A.H.

²¹ Compare Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Assyriener*, Book 1, and *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. XI, *Bonn Universelle*, v. "Carmath." Renouard, *Encyc. Méthodique*, Vol. XVIII pp. 301, 308, M. Jules David, *Syrie Moderne*, pp. 195-7, M. Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Tom. I p. cxxxv, II 341, and *Journal des Savants*, ann. 1818, the entire work of De Sacy has been copiously abstracted in the first and second Volumes of Col. Churchill's *Mount Lebanon*, 1853. Weil, *Ges. der Chaldäer*, Vol. II p. 214, III 65; Sale, *Koran*, Prel. Disc., Vol. I p. 252, *Secret Societies of the Middle Ages*, pp. 37-44, Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, Vol. I p. 206.

(1439 A.D.), giving it no more than 84 years. The *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* says 927 H., which gives 175 years.

The *Tarikh-i Tarhiri* is obviously wrong, because when Sultan Firoz Tughlik invaded Sind in 762 A.H. (1361 A.D.), by Sammas only, not by Sumras,—and this we learn from a contemporary author, Shams-i Siraj, whose father himself commanded a fleet of 1000, out of 50000, boats employed upon the expedition. The power of the Jam may be judged of by his being able to bring a force of 40,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry to oppose the Sultan of Delhi, whom he kept at bey for two years and a-half. Ten years previous, we also know from contemporary history that, upon Muhammad Tughlik's invasion, the chief of Thatta was a Sumra, and not a Samma. We may, therefore, safely concur with the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* in taking the year 752 H. as that of the accession of the Sammas, which was, indeed, coincident with that of Sultan Firoz, for his reign commenced while he was yet in Sind. and this change of dynasty was probably in some measure contingent upon his success in that province, before he advanced upon Delhi.

All these authors concur in fixing the extinction of the Samma dynasty in 927 H. (1521 A.D.).

Native writers have done their best to render the origin of this tribe obscure, in their endeavours to disguise and embellish the truth. The extracts from the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* will show the propensity of the Sindian mind to wander into the region of fable and romance. Nothing can be made out of such arrant nonsense. In another passage the author throws discredit on the Arab descent, and inclines to that of Jamshid. The Arabic origin from Abi Jahl has been assigned, in order to do honour to the converts from Hinduism. The Jharajas of Kachh, who are of Samma extraction, prefer claiming the distant connection of Sham, or Syria. The descent from Sam, the son of the prophet Nuh, has been assigned, partly for the same reason of nobilitation, partly that a fit eponymos might be found for Samma; and Jamshid, or Jam (for he is known under both forms indiscriminately), has been hit upon, in order that a suitable etymology might be obtained for the titular designation of Jam.

Tod derives the word Jam from Samma, but the correctness of this etymology may be doubted, for it was not the designation of the family generally, but merely of the chiefs. Indeed, Jam is a title still borne by many native rulers in these parts—such as the Jam of Bela, the Jam of Nawalnagar, in Surashtra, the Jam of Kej, the Jam of the Jokyas, a Samma tribe, and others—and has no necessary connection with Persian descent, much less with such a fabulous monarch and legislator as Jamshid. In the same manner, it has been attempted to engraft the genealogy of Cyrus on the ancient Median stock, by detecting the identity between Achæmenes and Jamshid;²¹² but here, again, notwithstanding that the hypothesis is supported by the respectable name of Heeren, we are compelled to withhold our assent, and are sorely tempted to exclaim—

Alfana vient d'équus, sans doute,
Mais il faut avouer aussi,
Qu'en venant de la jusqu'ici
Il a bien change sur la route

What the Sammas really were is shown in an interesting passage of the *Chach-nama*, where we find them, on the banks of the lower Indus, coming out with trumpets and shawms to proffer their allegiance to Muhammad Kasim. Samba, the governor of Debal, on the part of Chach, may be considered the representative of the family at an earlier period.²¹³

They were then either Buddhists or Hindus, and were received into favour in consideration of their prompt and early submission. They form a branch of the great stock of the Yadavas, and their pedigree is divided from Samba, the son of Krishna, who is himself known by the epithet of "Syama," indicative of his dark complexion. Sammanagar, on the Indus, was their original capital, which has been supposed by some to be the Minagara of the Greek geographers, and is probably represented by the modern Sihwan. Sihwan itself, which has been subject to various

²¹² Schnitzler, *Encyclo des Gens du Monde*, Tom. I pp. 144. Wahl, *Allgemeine Beschreibung des Pers. Reichs*, pp. 209. *Zendavesta*, I, 14. Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, Vol. I pp. 377

²¹³ *Chach-nama*, MS pp. 70, 109.

changes of name, may, perhaps, derive that particular designation (if it be not a corruption of Sindomana), from the Sihta, themselves a branch of the Sammas, mentioned in the *Chach-nama*, and also noticed at a later period of Sindian history, as will appear from some of the preceding Extracts. The name is also still preserved amongst the Jharejas of Kachh. The more modern capital of the Sammas, during part of the period under review, and before its transfer to Thatta, was Samui, mentioned in another Note. Since the Sammas became proselytes to Islam, which occurred not earlier than 793 H. (1391 A.D.), their name, though it still comprises several large erratic and pastoral communities, is less known than that of their brethren, or descendants, the Samejas, and the demi-Hindu Jharejas, of Kachh, who do honour to their extraction by their martial qualities, however notoriously they may be deficient in other virtues.

It being admitted that the Sammas are unquestionably Rajputs of the great Yadava stock, and that they have occupied the banks of the lower Indus within known historical periods, there seems nothing fanciful in the supposition that their ancestors may be traced in the Sambastæ and Sambus of Alexander's historians. The name of Sambastæ, who are represented as a republican confederacy, is doubtful, being read Abastani in Arrian, and Sabarcae in Quintus Curtius; but Sambus, of whose subjects no less than 80,000 (let us hope Diodorus was more correct in saying 8,000) were wantonly slain by that mighty destroyer—

"That made such waste in brief mortality"

and whose capital was the Sindonalia, Sindimona, or Sindomana above named, appears under the same aspect in all authors, with the closer variation of Samus in some copies,²¹⁴ and may fairly claim to have represented an earlier Samma dynasty in Sind than that which forms the subject of this Note.²¹⁵

²¹⁴ He is *Sabhas* in Plutarch, *Saboutas* in Strabo; and under the further disguises of *Ambigarus* in Justin, and *Ambiras* in Orosius.

²¹⁵ Compare *Tarikh-i Sind*, MS. p. 31; *Beq-Lar-nama*, MS. p. 9; *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, MS. pp. 42, 51; *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*, MS. pp. 15, 37,

The Arghun Dynasty

The family of the Arghuns derive their name, as stated elsewhere, from Arghun Khan Tarkhan, the grandson of Hulaku, the grandson of Changiz Khan. Amir Basri is there said, in general terms, to be one of the descendants of Arghun Khan. The descent more accurately traced, is as follows:

Arghun Khan.	Amir Elchi.
Uljaitu Sultan Muhammad	Amir Eku Timur.
Khudabanda.	Amir Shakal Beg.
Bartak Beg.	Miram Beg.
Mir Shekhu Beg.	Ahmad Wali.
Mahmud Beg.	Farrukh Beg.
Yar Beg.	Amir Basri.
Mir Farrukh Beg.	

The Arghun dynasty of Sind consisted of only two individuals—Shuja, or Shah Beg, and his son Mirza Shah Husain, with whom the family became extinct. The relations of the former with the Emperor Babar, when possession of the province of Kandahar was contested between them, and of the latter with the Emperor Humayun, when that unfortunate monarch took refuge in Sind for nearly three years, constitute their reigns as of some importance in the general history of India, especially when we consider that the memoirs of Babar are defective in the period alluded to.

The duration of their rule is variously stated at 35, 36, and 41 years. The last period is correct only if we date from 921 H. (1515 A.D.), when, according to the *Tarikh-i Tahiri*,²¹⁶ Shah Beg invaded and occupied a portion of

166, Shams-i Siraj, *T. Firuzshahi*, MS., Zia Barni, *T. Firuzshahi*, MS.; Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I p. 86, II pp. 220, 226, 312, and *Travels in W. India*, pp. 464, 474; Dr. Burnes, *History of Cutch*, Introd. pp. xi, xiv, I, 73, Vincent, *Comm. and Narr. of the Ancients*, Vol. I pp. 151, 155, Droysen, *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, pp. 446-9; Ritter, *Erdkunde von As.*, Vol. I pt. 1 pp. 473-4, Duval Siculus, *Biblioth. Histor.*, Lib. xvii, cap. 102, 103, Arrian, *Anab.*, Lib. vi cap. 16; Q. Curt. Rufus, *De Gest. Alex.*, Lib. iv cap. 32; C. Muller, *Scriptores Rerum Alex. M.*, p. 71, R. Geier, *Alex. M. Histor. Scriptores*, p. 174.

²¹⁶ The *Tarkhan-nama*, following the chronology of the *Tarikh-i Sind*, says that this first invasion occurred in 924 H.

Upper Sind: but as the final conquest of Lower, as well as Upper Sind was not effected from the Sammas till 927 H. (1521 A.D.), it is more correct to assume 35 years as the period.

All authorities concur in representing that the Arghun dynasty—Shah Husain having died childless—closed in 962 A.H. (1554-5 A.D.)²¹⁷

The Tarkhan Dynasty

When Aung, Khan of the Keraite Mongols, and celebrated in Europe under the name of Prester John, had, at the instigation of the jealous enemies of Changiz Khan, at last resolved to destroy that obnoxious favourite; two youths, named Ba'ta and Kashlak, who had overheard the discussion of the measures which were determined upon for execution on the following day, instantly flew to the camp of Changiz Khan, and disclosed to him the circumstances of the premeditated attack and his critical position. Being thus forwarned, he was able to defeat the scheme, and defending himself against great disparity of numbers, escaped the danger which impended over him. Upon proceeding to reward his gallant companions in the conflict, Changiz Khan conferred upon the two youths, to whose information he was indebted for his life, the title of Tarkhan, expressly ordaining that their posterity for nine generations should be exempted from all question for their offences, that they should be free from taxes and imposts, and permitted to enjoy all the plunder they should acquire in war, without being obliged to resign any part of it to the Khan. From these are said to be descended the Tarkhans of Khurasan and Turkistan.

Another set of Tarkhans were so denominated by Timur. When Tuktamish Khan was advancing against that potentate, he was gallantly opposed by Eku Timur, who fell in the unequal conflict; but his surviving relatives, whose gallantry and devotion had been witnessed by Timur, were honoured by him with the title of Tarkhan.

²¹⁷ Compare *Tarikh-i Sind*, MS. p. 136; *Beg-Lar-nama*, MS. p. 30; *Tarkhan-nama*, MS. p. 24; *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, MS. pp. 14, 51, 76, 81; *Tuhfatul Kiram*, MS. pp. 42, 52.

and it was enjoined, amongst other privileges, that the royal servitors should at no time prohibit their access to his presence, and that no criminal offence committed by them should be subject to punishment, until nine times repeated. From these are said to be descended the Tarkhans of Sind.

Others say, Timur bestowed the title upon a set of men who gave him shelter in his youth, when he lost his way in a hunting expedition.

Another origin is ascribed to this name, which is evidently fanciful, namely, that it is a corrupt mode of pronouncing "tar-khun," quasi, "wet with the blood (of enemies)."

Though it is probable that the Tarkhans of Sind may, as the local histories assert, be able to trace their origin to Eku Timur, who, as we have seen in the preceding Note, was the great grandson of Arghun Khan, and who as the member of the Imperial family from whom the Arghuns also were descended,—yet the Tarkhans of Khurasan and Turkistan cannot all be descended from the family of Ba'ta and Kashlak, because Arghun Khan was himself a Tarkhan, and we find the title borne by others who could have had no connection with those favoured youths. Thus, Tarkhan, prince of Farghana, hospitably entertained the last monarch of Persia; and thus, among the events of 105 H. (723 A.D.), Tabari makes frequent mention of the Tarkhans as officers under the Khakan of the Khazars, to the west of the Caspian sea. Babu-l Abwab was garrisoned by a thousand Tarkhanis, the flower of the Tatar tribe. One chief's name was Hazar-Tarkhani; and other instances might easily be adduced of the antiquity of the title.

We find the name descending to a late period of the annals of India, and scions of this family still reside at Nasrpur and Thatta; but the dynasty of the Tarkhans of Sind may be considered to have expired in the year 1000 H., when Mirza Jani Beg resigned his independence into the hands of Akbar's general, the Khan-i Khanan, after the kingdom had remained with the Tarkhans for a period of 38 years.

The *Tarikh-i Tahiri* extends their rule even to 1022 H., or rather, it should have been 1021 H., when Ghazi Beg

Tarkhan died at Kandahar ; but he was only an imperial officer, having no independent jurisdiction, and entitled merely a Jagirdar. Even then, it is impossible to make, as that authority does, the Tarkhan period reach to 53 years ; so that, as before mentioned, we must date the extinction of Sind as an independent kingdom, from 1000 A.H. (1591-2 A.H.), and thenceforward the consideration of its affairs merges in the general history of the Timurian empire.²¹⁸

Shah Beg's Capture of Thatta

The *Tarkhan-nama* states, that when Shah Beg advanced to the capture of Thatta, the river, meaning the main stream of the Indus, ran to the north of that city. If this statement be correct, it shows that a most important deviation must have occurred since that period in the course of the river. But I believe that the assertion arises from a mere mis-translation of the *Tarikh-i Sind*, of Mir Ma'sum, which is generally followed *verbatim* in the *Tarkhan-nama*.

Mir Ma'sum says that "Shah Beg advanced by daily marches towards Thatta, by way of the Lakhi pass, and encamped on the banks of the Khanwah, from which Thatta lies three kos to the south. At that time the river generally flowed by Thatta ; therefore he was in doubt how he should cross." Now this is not very plain, and we should even more correctly interpret the original, if we were to say that, "Thatta lies three kos to the north of the Kanwah." We know that this could not have been meant, but the statement, as it stands, is puzzling, and the author of the *Tarkhan-nama*, in the endeavour to be exact, has complicated matters still further. The *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* says that the subsequent action took place "on the stream called 'Alijan, which flows below

²¹⁸ Compare *Modern Universal History*, Vol. III p. 250; D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, Tom I p. 44; *Shajrat ul Atrak*, p. 71; *Journal R. A. S.* Vol. XI. p. 123, XII. p. 344; Price, *Retrospect of Muham. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 470. II 483, I 117; D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, v. "Tarkhan;" *Zafar-nama*, MS.; *Rauzat-u-Safa*, MS.; *Habibu-s Siyar*, MS.; *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, MS. pp. 14, 76; *Tarkhan-nama*, MS. pp. 4, 23, 51, 69, 118; *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*, MS. pp. 52, 62; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*. Vol. I. p. 500.

Thatta," but does not mention whether this was the same stream near which Shah Beg encamped, though from the context we may be allowed to presume that it was. The *Tarikh-i Tahiri* is more specific, and states that "he encamped on the bank of the Khanwah, that is, the canal of water which Darya Khan had dug, for the purpose of populating the Pargana of Samkura and other lands at the foot of the hills, and the environs of the city."

It is evident, therefore, that Shah Beg pitched his camp, not on the main stream, but on one of the canals, or little effluents, from the Indus. The Ghizri, or Ghara creek, is too far to the westward, though it is represented in some maps as running up as far as the Indus itself, and joining it above Thatta. Indeed, there still exist traces of its having been met by a stream from the river at no very remote period, and, during the inundations, the city is even now sometimes insulated from this cause. In the absence of any more precise identification, we may safely look to this deserted bed as corresponding with the ancient 'Alijan, and suiting best the position indicated.

Authorities differ about the date of Shah Beg's crossing this river, and capturing Thatta, by which an end was put to the dynasty of the Jams, or Sammas. The *Tarikh-i Sind* says it occurred in the month of Muharram, 926. The *Tarikh-i Tahiri* is silent. The *Tarkhan-nama* says Muharram, 927 (corresponding with December, 1520); differing only in the day of the month from the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*, where the correctness of this latter date is established by an appropriate chronogram:—

"Kharabi Sind.—The Downfall of Sind."

The *Tarikh-i Tahiri* refers this chronogram to the period when Shah Husain plundered Thatta, on the ground of extravagant joy having been evinced by its inhabitants upon the death of his father, Shah Beg; but this is evidently a mistake, and is adopted merely to accommodate his false chronology.

The Death of Shah Beg Arghun

Authorities differ greatly respecting the time and place of Shah Beg's death. The *Tarkhan-nama* states that it

occurred in Sha'ban, 926 H., not far from Chanduka, said in the *Tarikh-i Sind* (MS. p. 196) to be thirty kos west of Bhakkar, and that the accession of Mirza Shah Husain was celebrated where Shah Beg died.

Firishta says he died in 930 H., but mentions no place.

Mir Ma'sum (MS. p. 154) says, he died after leaving Bhakkar, on his way to Guzerat,—in the same page Agham is the particular spot implied—and that the words *Shahr-Sha'ban* ("month of Sha'ban") represent the date of his death, i.e., 928 H. (1522 A.D.) That very night, he adds, Shah Husain was proclaimed his successor, and, three years afterwards, Shah Beg's coffin was conveyed to Mecca where a lofty tomb was erected over it. He mentions (MS. p. 171) that Shah Husain's succession took place at Nasrpur, though he has previously led us to suppose it was Agham.

The *Tarikh-i Tahiri* (MS. p. 49) says that his death took place in 924 H.—"some say is occurred in Multan, some in Kandahar."

The *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* (MS. p. 42) states that he died at Agham on the 23rd of Sha'ban, 928 H. It is mentioned in that work also, that this month represents the date of his death. The author gives satisfactory reasons why the reports just quoted from the *Tarikh-i Tahiri* must necessarily be both incorrect.

Under these conflicting evidences, we may rest assured that the chronogram is correct, and that Shah Beg Arghun, the conqueror of Sind, died at Agham, on the 23rd of the month Sha'ban 928 A.H. (18th July, 1522 A.D.).

ETHNOLOGICAL NOTE

Native Opinions on the Aborigines of Sind

The names, which are given in the *Beg-Lar-nama* as three :—"Bina, Tak, Nabumiya," amount to four in the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* (MS. p. 4)—"Banya, Tank, Mumid, and Mahmir." They are given from Sindian authorities by Lieut. Postans, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (No. cxi. 1841, p. 184), as "Nubetch, Tak, and Moomeed;" and again, by the same author (No. clviii. 1845, p. 78), as "Nubuja, Jak, and Momid."

It would be a matter of great interest to restore these tribes correctly, and ascertain the course of their migrations. I can trace the mention of them to no earlier authority than the *Beg-Lar-nama*. All their names, except one, defy positive identification, and we may put the list of the *Vishnu Purana* and the *Asiatic Researches* through all kinds of contortions, without meeting any race that will yield a sufficient resemblance for our adoption. That single exception is "Tak," about which there can be no doubt. "Bina" may possibly represent "Mina" the probable founders of the celebrated Minagara, and the present occupants of the upper Aravali range. Or if "Baniya" be the correct reading, then the designation may have been applied to them, as being foresters. In "Mumid" we may perhaps have the "Med" of the Arabs, and in the "Muhmir," we may chance to have the representatives of the "Mhairs," or "Mairs" of Rajputana, if, indeed, they differ from the Med. We can venture upon nothing beyond these dubious conjectures.

That we should find the "Tak" in Sind at an early period, is by no means improbable, and if the statement rested on somewhat better, or more ancient, authority than the *Beg-Lar-nama*, it might be assumed as an undoubted fact, with some degree of confidence.

Tod exalts the Taks to a high and important rank amongst the tribes which emigrated from Scythia to India, making them the same as the Takshak, Napabansi, or serpent-race, who acted a conspicuous part in the legendary annals of ancient India. His speculations, some of which are fanciful, and some probable, may be found in the passages noted below.²¹⁹ One thing is certain that the Taks were progenitors of the Musulman kings of Guzerat, before that province was absorbed into the empire of Akbar.

Tod observes, that with the apostacy of the Tak, when

²¹⁹ *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I pp. 53, 92, 95, 99, 103-6, 536, 673, 738, 739, 796, 800, and Vol. II pp. 225, 227, 445, 678, 735. His ardent admirer, E. Pococke, exalts them still higher, by mis-spelling their name—"The Tag is a renowned Rajpoot tribe! The Toga of the Ramas was the dress worn by this tribe! The race was the Toga-des (Toga-tus), that is, Tagland. The Gena Tagata, or Gens Togata, that is, the Tag Race!"—*India in Greece*, p. 172.

Wajihu-l Mulk was converted, and became the founder of the Muhammadan dynasty of Guzerat, the name appears to have been obliterated from the tribes of Rajasthan, and that his search had not discovered one of that race now existing; but there are Taks amongst the Bhangis, who, though of spurious descent, have evidently preserved the name. There are also Tank Rajputs in the central Doab and lower Rohilkhand, whose privileges of intermarriage show them to be of high lineage; and there is a tribe of nearly similar name existing near Jambhu, not far from their ancient capital Taksha-sila, or Taxila; of which the position is most probably to be sought between Manikyala and the Suan River, notwithstanding some plausible and ingenious objections which have been raised against that opinion.²²⁰

Buddhists in Sind

Biladuri calls the temple of the sun at Multan by the name of *budd*, and he informs us, that not only temples, but idols, were called by the same name. As the Buddhist religion was evidently the prevalent one in Sind when the Musalmans first came in contact with Indian superstitions, it follows that to Buddha must be attributed the origin of this name, and not to the Persian *but*, "an idol," which is itself most probably derived from the same source.

With regard to the *budd* of Debal.²²¹ M. Reinaud has observed that the word not only is made applicable to a Buddhist temple, but seems also to indicate a Buddhist *stupa*,²²² or tower, which was frequently the companion of

²²⁰ On this interesting and much-vexed question, consult Mannert, *Geographie der Gr. und Römer*, Vol. V · Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. IV pt. i p. 451; *Asiatic Res.*, Vol. VIII pp. 346, 348; *Modern Traveller*, "India," Vol. I p. 119; *Annals of Raj.*, Vol. I pp. 92, 104, 693; II p. 227; *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. V p. 118 · XI 157; *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 64, 107. Lassen, *Indische Alterth.*, Vol. II p. 145 · M. Stan Julien, *Hist. d'Hiouen Tsiang*, p. 143, and, above all, J. Abbott, *Journal A. S. Bengal*, 1852, pp. 216-218, 254-263; in which work, Taxila has frequently formed the subject of discussion—[*Journal R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 221]

²²¹ The temple of Debal is described as being one hundred and twenty feet high, surmounted by a dome also of equal height—*Tuh-fatu-l Kiram*, MS. p. 10

²²² The origin of our English "tope." It is curious that, in Icelandic also, *stupa* signifies "a tower." See further, respecting this word,

the temple ; and he traces the word *budd* in the *jeouthau*, or rather *foth*, which we find mentioned in the Chinese relations, as serving at the same time to designate a Buddha, and the edifice which contains his image. "*Feou-thou*" says Klaproth, "is the name which they give to pyramids, or obelisks, containing the relics of Sakya, or other holy personages. Chapels, likewise, are so called, in which these images are placed."²³

Although Chach, who usurped the throne about the beginning of the Hijri era, was a Brahman, there is no reason to suppose that he attempted to interfere with the then popular religion of Buddhism. Brahmanism is, indeed, so accommodating to anything that partakes of idol-worship, that Chach and Dahir might have made their offerings in a Buddhist temple, without any greater sacrifice of consistency than a Roman was guilty of in worshipping Isis and Osiris, or than we witness every day in a Hindu presenting his butter and flowers at the shrine of Saikh Saddu, Ghazi Mian, Shah Madar, or any other of the apotheosized Muhammadan impostors of Hindustan. There is even no incompatibility in supposing that Chach, though a Brahman by birth, still continued a Buddhist in his persuasion;²⁴ for the divisions of caste were at that time secular, not religious,—the four classes existing, in former times, equally amongst the Buddhists and amongst the Hindus of continental India, as they do at this day amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon, and amongst the Jains of the peninsula, where even Brahman priests may be found officiating in their temples.

There are several indications of the Buddhist religion prevailing at that period in the valley of the Indus, not only from the specific announcement of the Chinese travellers, and the declaration of Ibn Khurdadba to the effect, but from certain incidental allusions of the Arabic writers, made without any particular reference to the oppo-

Hammer-Purgstall, in *Wien Jahrbucher*, No. cxii p. 17 ; Burnouf, *Budd Ind*, Vol. I p. 349, Fergusson, *Illustr. to Anc Archit of Hindustan*, p. 14 [*Journ R A S I (N S)* p. 481]

²³ *Fragments Arabes*, pp. 193, 200; *Fou-koue-ki*, 19, 41, 50, 91, 355; *Memoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 90, 177, 290

²⁴ There seems, indeed, reason to believe that his brother and successor, Chandar, was actually a Buddhist ascetic. *Supra*

site factions of Brahmans and Buddhists—between which the distinctions, especially of worship, oblations, mythology, and cosmography, were generally too nice to attract the observations, or excite the enquiries of such ignorant and supercilious foreigners. Thus, when priests are mentioned, they are usually called *Samani*;²²⁵ the state elephant is white, a very significant fact, the thousand Brahmans, as they are styled, who wished to be allowed to retain the practices of their ancient faith, were ordered by Muhammad Kasim, with the permission of the Khalif, to carry in their hands a small vessel as mendicants, and beg their bread from door to door every morning—a prominent ceremony observed by the Buddhist priesthood; and, finally, the sculpturing, or otherwise perpetuating, the personal representations of their conquerors; all these indicate Buddhist rather than Brahmanical habits. To this may be added the negative evidence afforded by the absence of any mention of priestcraft, or other pontifical assumption, of widow-burning, of sacerdotal threads, of burnt-sacrifices, of cow-worship, of ablutions, of penances, or of other observances and ceremonies peculiar to the tenets of the Brahmanical faith.

The manifest confusion which prevailed amongst the Arabs regarding the respective objects of Brahman and Buddhist worship, prepares us, therefore, to find, as remarked at the commencement of this Note, that the temple of the Sun at Multan is, by Biladuri, styled a *budd*. Even in the time of Mas'udi, the kings of Kanauj, which he

²²⁵ Vide translations of the *Futuhu-l Buldan* and the *Chach-nama*, *passim*. These are the Sarmanes, Sarmanze, Garmanae, Samanæi, and Semnoi, of Clemens of Alexandria, Strabo, and other Greek writers. The name is derived from the Sanskrit, *Sramana*, "a religious mendicant, an ascetic, especially one of the Buddhist faith." More information can be had respecting the various disguises and applications of this word, by consulting Schwanbeck, *Meqasthenis Fragmenta*, pp. 45-50; C. Muller, *Fragmenta Histor. Græc.*, Vol. II pp. 435-7; Lassen, *Rhein Mus.*, Vol. I pp. 171-190; *Ind. Alterth.*; Gildemeister, *de reb. Ind.*, p. 114; Humboldt, *Cosmos*, Vol. II pp. 59, Thirlwall, *Hist. Græce*, Vol. VII p. 15; *Journal A. S. Bombay*, No. viii p. 91; Dr. Wilson, *Antiq. of Western India*, p. 63; *Journal R. A. S.*, No. xii 378-402; Burnouf, *Budd. Ind.*, Vol. I p. 275; Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 491; Bohnen, *das alte Indien*, Vol. I pp. 319-322.

asserts to have then been under Multan, are all styled *Budh*, *Budah* or *Bauura*, doubtless from the worship which the Arabs had heard to prevail in that capital; and in this he is followed by Idrisi, who wrote as late as the middle of the twelfth century: so that the use of *budd* is very indefinite; and hether applied to man, temple, or statue, it by no means determines the application to anything positively and necessarily connected with Buddhism, any more than the absence of that word denotes the contrary, when incidental notices and negative testimonies, such as those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, can be adduced to support the probability of its prevalence.

.The Jats

[General Cunningham in his Archaeological Report for 1863-4, says, "The traditions of the Hindu Jats of Biana and Bharatpur point to Kandahar as their parent country, while those of the Muhammadan Jats generally refer to Gajni or Garh-Gajni, which may be either the celebrated fort of Ghazni in Afghanistan or the old city of Gajnipur on the site of Rawul-Pindi. But if I am right in my identification of the Jats with the *Xanthi* of Strabo, and the *Iati* of Pliny and Ptolemy, their parent country must have been on the banks of the Oxus, between Bactria, Hyrkania, and Khorasmia. Now in this very position there was a fertile district, irrigated from the Margus river, which Pliny calls *Zotale* or *Zothale*, and which, I believe to have been the original seat of the *Iati* or Jats. Their course from the Oxus to the Indus may perhaps be dimly traced in the *Xuthi* of Dioxysius of Samos, who are coupled with the Arieni, and in the *Zuthi* of Ptolemy who occupied the *Karmanian* desert on the frontier of Drangiana. As I can find no other traces of their name in the classical writers, I am inclined to believe, as before suggested, that they may have been best known in early times, by the general name of their horde, as *Abars*, instead of by their tribal name as *Jats*. According to this view, the main body of the *Iatu* would have occupied the district of *Abiria* and the towns of *Pardabathra* and *Bardaxema* in Sindh, or Southern Indo-Scythia, while the Panjab of North Indo-Scythia was chiefly colonised by their brethren the *Meds*.

[When the Muhammadans first appeared in Sindh, towards the end of the seventh century, the *Zaths* and *Meds* were the chief population of the country. But as I have already shown that the original seat of the *Med* or *Medi* colony was in the Panjab proper, I conclude that the original seat of the *latii* or *Jat* colony, must have been in Sindh, * * * * At the present day the Jats are found in every part of the Panjab, where they form about two-fifths of the population. They are chiefly Musalmans, and are divided into not less than a hundred different tribes. * * * * To the east of the Panjab, the Hindu Jats are found in considerable numbers in the frontier states of Bikaner, Jesalmer, and Jodhpur, where, in Col. Tod's opinion, they are as numerous as all the Rajput races put together. They are found also in great numbers along the upper course of the Ganges and Jamuna, as far eastward as Bareilly, Farakhabad, and Gwalior, where they are divided into two distinct clans. * * * To the south of the Panjab, the Musulman Jats are said by Pottinger to form the entire population of the fruitful district of Haraud-Dajel, on the right bank of the Indus, and the bulk of the population in the neighbouring district of Kach-Gandava. In Sindh, where they have intermarried largely with Buluchis and Musulmans of Hindu descent, it is no longer possible to estimate their numbers, although it is certain that a very large proportion of the population must be of Jat descent.] See Masson's *Journey to Kelat*, pp 351-3 ; also *Zeitschrift f.d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. III. p. 209.

The Kerks

The pirates, whose insolence led to the final subjugation of Sind, are stated, by a very good authority, to be of the tribe of Kerk, Kruk, Kurk, Karak, or some name of nearly similar pronunciation. The reading is too clear to be discarded in favour of 'Kurd,' or 'Coorg,' as has been proposed ; and M. Reinaud, while he suggests the latter reading, which has been shown to be highly improbable, on the ground of Coorg being not a maritime, but an inland hilly country—nevertheless informs us that, in the annals of the Arabs, the Kurk are more than once spoken of as desperate pirates,

carrying their expeditious even as far as Jidda, in the Red Sea.²²⁶ We must, therefore, necessarily be content to consider them as of Sindian origin, otherwise Rai Dahir would not have been called to account for their proceedings.

Though the name of Kerk be now extinct, and declared to be entirely incapable of present identification, we must enquire whether we cannot find any trace of their having occupied the banks of the Indus at some remote period. And, first of all, the resemblance of the name of Krokala, which has conspicuous mention in the voyage of Nearchus, is sufficiently striking to attract our observation. Dr. Vincent and Heeren consider Krokala to be the modern Karachi. A later authority says Chalna, a small rocky island, about four miles from Cape Monze.²²⁷ Neither of these authorities knew that there is at present a large insular tract, which bears the name of Kakrala, at the mouth of the Indus, answering exactly all the requirements of Arrian's description—"a sandy island, subject to the influence of the tides."²²⁸ It is situated between the Wanyani and Pitti mouths of the river; but modern travellers differ about its precise limits. Captain Postans places it further to the west, and makes it include Karachi.²²⁹ This is no shifting, or modern name. We can see from the *Avin-i Akbari*, and from some of the works quoted in this volume, that it has been known, and similarly applied, for the last three centuries at least; and it may, without question, be regarded as the Krokala of Arrian. Its origin is easily accounted for, by conceiving it to mean the "abode of the Krok," or whatever their real designation may have been before its perversion by the Greeks. The only other vestige of the name is in Karaka, a place three miles below Haidarabad.

²²⁶ *Memoire sur l'Inde*, p. 181

²²⁷ *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, Vol. I. p. 194, *Asiatic Nations*, Vol. II. p. 246, *Journal of the R. Geographical Society* Vol. V. p. 264, Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. IV. pt. 1. p. 479

²²⁸ Nearchi *Parapluſis*, p. 4, Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 21.

²²⁹ *Personal Obs. on Sindh*, p. 24, McMundo, *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 212; Burnes, *Travels to Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 12, *L'Univers Pittoresque*, "Inde," p. 68.

In pointing out another possible remnant of this ancient name, I am aware I shall be treading on dangerous and very disputable ground. Nevertheless, let us at once, without further preliminary, transfer ourselves to the north-eastern shores of the Euxine sea, where we shall find, among other peoples and places recalling Indian associations, the tribe of Kerketæi or Kerketæ²³⁰—the bay of Kerketis²³¹—the river of Korax²³²—the mountains of Korax²³³—the town of Korok-ondame²³⁴—the river and peninsula of Korok-ondame²³⁵—the sea, or lake, or Korok-ondamētis²³⁶—the tribe of Kerketiki²³⁷—the city of Karkinitis²³⁸—the city of Karkine²³⁹—the bay of Karkinitis²⁴⁰—the city of Kirkæum²⁴¹—the river of Karakenites²⁴²—the region of Kerketos²⁴³—the tribe of Koraxi²⁴⁴—the wall of Korax²⁴⁵—and other similar names,

²³⁰ *Hellanicus*, *Fragm.* 91; *Scylax Caryand.*, *Periplus*; *ed. Hudson*, p. 31; *Strabo*, *Geograph.* xi. 2; *ed. Tauchnitz*, *Vol. II.* pp. 399, 406; *Dionys*, *Perieg.* V. 682. *Pallas* and *Reineggs* consider that the *Charkas*, or *Circassians*, derive their name from the *Kerketæ*. They certainly occupy the same sites.

²³¹ *Ptol.*, *Geogr.*, v. 8

²³² *Ptol.*, *Geogr.*, v. 9.

²³³ *Ptol.*, *Geogr.*, *ib.* and *iii.* 6; *Plin.*, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 9, 12; *Pompon*, *Mela*, *de situ Orbis*, i, 19; *iii.* 5.

²³⁴ *Strabo*, *Geogr.* *ib.* p. 403; *Ptol.*, *Geogr.*, v. 9, *Stephanus Byzant.*, *Ethnica*, s.v.

²³⁵ *Strabo*, *Geogr.* *ib.*; *Pompon*, *Mel.*, i. 19; *Dionys.*, *Perieg.*, 550.

²³⁶ *Strabo*, *Geogr.* *ib.*; *Steph. Byz.*, s.v.

²³⁷ *Pompon Mela*, i. 19; *Priscian*, *Perieg.*, 663.

²³⁸ *Steph. Byz.*, v. *Karkinitis*; *Herod.*, *iv.* 99.

²³⁹ *Plin.*, *Nat. Hist.*, *iv.* 26; *Ptol.*, *Geogr.* *iii.* 5

²⁴⁰ *Strabo*, *Geogr.*, *vn.* 3; *ib.* p. 90; *Pompon Mela*, *ii.* 1; *Artemidori*, *Fragm.* p. 87.

²⁴¹ *Plin.*, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 4; *Etymolog. Magum* v. *Kirkaion*; *Apoll. Rhod.*, *Argorb.*, n. 400; *iii.* 200.

²⁴² *Ptol.*, *Geogr.*, *iii.* 5. ²⁴³ *Eustathius*, *ad Dionys.*, *Perieg.*, 682.

²⁴⁴ *Hecataeus*, *Fragm.*, 185; *Scylax Caryand.*, *Periplus*, p. 31; *Steph. Byz.*, s.v.

²⁴⁵ *Bayer*, *de Muro Cauc.*; *Reineggs*, *Histor.-Topograph. Beschreibung d. Kaukasus*, *Tom I.* p. 16; *Steph. Byz.*, v. *Koraxoi*. The common names of *Charax*, and its compounds, *Characene*, *Characoma*, etc., in *Syria*, *Asia Minor*, and along the course of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, offer an inviting resemblance, but have no connection with these. The origin of these names is, curiously enough, both *Hebrew* and *Greek*; the *Hebrew* signifying a "wall," or "fortress;" *Kharax* a "fosse." The *Kerak*, or *Karac*, which we so often read of in the history of the *Crusades*, is derived from the former.

—all within so narrow a compass as to show, even allowing many to be identical, that they can have but one origin, derived from the same fundamental root—Kerk, Kurk, Karak, Korak, Kark—retaining immutably the same consonants, but admitting arbitrary transpositions, or perhaps unsettled pronunciations of unimportant vowels.

It may be asked what connection these names can possibly have with our Sindian stock. Let us, then, carry the enquiry a little further, and many more Indian resemblances may be traced:—for, next to these wild Kerketiki, we are struck with finding the very Sindians themselves.

*KERKETIQUE, ferox ea gens, SINDIQUE superbi*²⁴⁰

We have also a Sindikus portus²⁴⁷—a town of Sinda²⁴⁸—the tribe of Sindiani²⁴⁹—the town of Sindica²⁵⁰—the tract of Sindike²⁵¹—the town of Sindis²⁵²—the tribe of Sindones²⁵³—the town of Sindos²⁵⁴—the tribe of Sinti²⁵⁵. Here, again, it may be admitted, that some of these may be different names for the same tribes and the same places.

The old reading of the passage in Herodotus, where the Sindi are mentioned (iv. 28), was originally Indi, but commentators were so struck with the anomaly of finding Indians on the frontiers of Europe, and they considered it so necessary to reconcile the historian with geographers, that they have now unanimously agreed to read Sindi, though the reading is not authorized by any ancient manuscripts. It is impossible to say what is gained by the substitution; for Sindi must be themselves Indians, and the

²⁴⁰ *Orphei Argonautica*, Cribelli verso, v. 1049, see also *Herod.* iv. 28; *Apollon Rhod.* Argonaut, iv. 322, *Strabo*, Geogr. vi. 2, ib. p. 403; *Val Flacc.*, Argon, vi. 86.

²⁴⁷ *Scylax Caryand.* Periplus, p. 31, *Strabo*, Geogr. ib. p. 406; *Ptol.*, Geogr. v. 9; *Steph Byz.* v. *Sindikou*. This is still called *Sindjak*, a haven near *Anapa*. *Rennell's map* makes it correspond with *Anapa* itself.

²⁴⁸ *Ptol.*, Geogr. v. 9. ²⁴⁹ *Lucian.* Toxaris, c. 55.

²⁵⁰ *Herod.*, iv. 86—*Plin.* Nat Hist, vi. 5.

²⁵¹ *Strabo*, ib. pp. 399, 403, 404.

²⁵² *Hesychius*, Lex., sv. ²⁵³ *Pompon Mela*, i. 19.

²⁵⁴ *Pompon. Mela*, i. 19.

²⁵⁵ *Scylax Car.* Peripl, ib.—*Hesychius*, Lex., sv.—*Polyaenus*, Stratagem., viii. 55.

difficulty is in no way removed by this arbitrary conversion. Hesychius, moreover,—no mean authority—says that the Sindi of the Euxine were, in reality, Indians; nay, more, though writing two centuries before our Kerks are even named or alluded to, he expressly calls the Kerketæ also “an Indian nation.”²⁵⁶

It has been remarked, that even if no such direct testimony had been given, the hints that remain to us concerning the character and manners of these Sindi, the peculiar object of their worship, and their dissolute religious rites and sorceries, would leave no doubt as to the country from which they were derived.

It is from this region that the Indian merchants must have sailed who were shipwrecked in the Baltic, and presented by the king of the Suevi, or of the Batavi, to L. Metellus Celer, the pro-consul of Gaul; for they could not have been carried round from the continent of India to the north of Europe by the ocean. Various solutions of this difficulty have been attempted. It has been surmised that they might have been Greenlanders, or mariners from North America, or even painted Britons: but the fact cannot be disputed, that they are called plainly “Indians,” by all the authors who have recorded the fact, however improbable their appearance in those regions might have been.²⁵⁷

Their nautical habits were no doubt acquired originally in the Indian Ocean, and were inherited by generations of descendants. It is even highly probable that their inveterate addiction to piracy, which led to the Muhammadan conquest, and has only now been eradicated by the power of the British, may have been the cause of this national dislocation, which no sophistry, no contortion of reading, no difficulty of solution, can legitimately invalidate. The very term of *ignobiles*, applied to them by Ammianus Marcellinus

²⁵⁶ *Sintoï, 'Ethnos 'Indikon Kerketai, 'Ethnos, 'Indikon. Conf. Interpret. Hesych, Vol. II. p. 234.*

²⁵⁷ *Qui ex India commercii causa navigantes, tempestate essent in Germania abrepti,—Plin., Nat. Hist., ii 67. Compare Pompon. Mel., de sit. Orb., iii 5. The original authority is Cornelius Nepos, Fragmenta, p. 731; ed. A. van Staveren, Lugd. Bat., 1734, where the Notes should be consulted. See also Ramusio, Navigat, et Viaggi, Tom. I. p. 373 D.*

nus (xxii, 8), and the curious expressions used by Valerius Flaccus (vi. 86),—

*Degeneresque ruunt Sindi, glomerantque, paterno
Crimine nunc etiam metuentes verbera, turmas,—*

imply a punishment and degradation, which are by no means sufficiently explained by reference to the *anecdotes related* by Herodotus (iv. 1-4), and Justin (ii. 5).²⁵⁸

Whether this degradation adheres to any of their descendants at the present time will form the subject of a future essay; but before closing the subject of these early Indian piracies, we should not omit to notice the evident alarm with which they always inspired the Persian monarchy, even in the days of its most absolute power. Strabo and Arrian inform us, that in order to protect their cities against piratical attacks, the Persians made the Tigris entirely inaccessible for navigation. The course of the stream was obstructed by masses of stone, which Alexander, on his return from India, caused to be removed for the furtherance of commercial intercourse. Inspired by the same dread, and not from religious motives, (as has been supposed), the Persians built no city of any note upon the sea-coast.²⁵⁹

We may here make a passing allusion to another memorial of Indian connexion with these parts. The southern neighbours of these Euxine Sindi were the Kolchians. C. Ritter, in his *Vorhalle*, quoted at the end of this Note, asserts that they came originally from the west of India. Pindar²⁶⁰ and Herodotus²⁶¹ both remark upon the darkness of their complexion. The latter also mentions that they were curly-headed. He states that he had satisfied him-

²⁵⁸ Ukert, *alte Geographie*, Vol III pt ii pp 494-496, 510, W D Cooley, *Maritime and Inland Discovery*, Vol I pp 82-87; Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscip, Tom. VI p 263, XLVI p 403, M Viv de St, Martin, *Etudes de Geographie ancienne*, Tom I p 273

²⁵⁹ Strabo, *Geograph*, xvi. 1; ib, Vol iii p 338; Arrian, *Expedition Alex.*, vii. 7 Amm Marcellinus, xiii. 6. Robertson, *Ancient India*, Note x; Ritter, *Asien*, Vol x pp 24-32, *Ind Alterthum*, ii 601. Heeren and others have questioned whether these dykes were not rather maintained for the purposes of irrigation

²⁶⁰ *Keloinopessi Kolkhoisin*.—Pyth, iv 378 The Scholiast dwells on the subject.

²⁶¹ Hist., II. 104. See also Eustathius *ad Dionys*, *Perieg.*, 689.

self, not only from the accounts of others, but from personal examination, that they were Egyptians, descended from a portion of the invading army of Sesostris, which had either been detached by that conqueror, or, being wearied with his wandering expedition, had remained, of their own accord, near the river Phasis. He also mentions the practice of circumcision, the fabrication of fine linen, the mode of living, and resemblance of language, as confirmatory of his view of an affinity between these nations. He has been followed by Diodorus and other ancient writers, as well as many modern scholars, who have endeavoured to account for this presumed connection.²⁶² I will not lengthen this Note by pursuing the enquiry; but will merely remark that this Egyptian relationship probably arises from some confusion (observable in several other passages of Herodotus), respecting the connection between the continents of India and Ethiopia,—which pervaded the minds of poets and geographers from Homer²⁶³ down to Ptolemy,²⁶⁴—or rather down to Idrisi and Marino Sanuto;²⁶⁵ and which induced even Alexander, when he saw crocodiles in the Indus, although their existence therein had already been remarked by Herodotus, to conceive that that river was connected with the Nile, and that its navigation downwards would conduct into Egypt.²⁶⁶

²⁶² Bibl. Hist., i. 28, 55, *Apollon Rhod.* Argon., iv. 259-271; *Strabo Geogr.* xi. 2, ib., p. 409, *Val Flacc.* Argon., v. 421; *Fest. Arnen.* Deser. Orbis, 871, *Amm. Marc.* xvii. 8, *Ukert*, *alte Geogr.* Vol. III. pt. ii. p. 509, *St. Martin*, loc. cit., pp. 255-270.

²⁶³ *Il.* xxiii. 205; *Odyss.* i. 23.

²⁶⁴ *Geograph.* vii. 3, 5. *There had been a decided retrogression in the system of Ptolemy, for Herodotus, Strabo, and some others had a far correcter knowledge of the Southern Ocean.*

²⁶⁵ *Vincent*, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 568, 664-8, *M. Jaubert*, *Geog. d'Edrisi*; *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Vol. II.

²⁶⁶ *Strabo*, *Geograph.* xv. 1, Vol. III. p. 266, *Arrian*, *Exped. Alex.* vi. 1 *Geogr. Alex. M. Historiarum Scriptores*, p. 118.

It is fair to remark, that such ignorance is not reconcilable, either with the general arrangement of Alexander's plans, or with the real geographical knowledge which his inquisitive mind must have imbibed. Respecting the supposed geographical connection of these two countries; see Schaufelberger, Corpus Script. Vet. qui de India scripserunt, 1845, i. 12, Sir J. Stoddart, Intro. to the Study of Un. Hist., pp. 112, 218, Schwanbeck, Megasthenis Fragmenta, pp. 1-5 64; Dr. Smith's Dict. of Geogr., v. "Arabicus Sinus" and "Asia,"

It is admitted that grave objections may be raised, and have been urged with some force, against carrying these presumed analogies too far; and sceptics are ready to exclaim with Fluellen, "there is a river in Macedon, and there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth * * * there is salmons in both." But, while some have endeavoured to trace the indications of a direct Indian connection between the inhabitants of the Euxine shores and India, on the ground of such names as Acesmes,²⁶⁷ Hypanis,²⁶⁸ Kophes, or Kobus,²⁶⁹ Typhaonia,²⁷⁰ Phasis,²⁷¹ Caucasus, and such like, being found in both one country and the other; and while the resemblance between the worship of Odin and Buddha has been strongly urged by similar advocates;²⁷² it may, on the other hand, and with great reason, be asserted that these names are not local in India, and that they have generally been grafted on some Indian stock, offering a mere partial likeness, either through the ignorance of the Greeks, or with the view of flattering the vanity of Alexander, by shifting further to the eastward the names

Gildemeister, Script Arab de rebus Indics, pp. 27, 145. *Humboldt, Cosmos (Sabine)*, Vol II Note 419. *D'Urville, Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 187; *Cooley, Mar and Inland Discov.*, Vol I, pp. 113, 128, 150. *Valentyn, Beschryving van Oost Ind.*, Vol I p. 62. *Robertson's India, Note xxxii.* *Ctesiae Opera Reliqua*, ed. Bachr., pp. 309, 454. These quotations do not refer to the large and interesting question of their civil, religious, and ethnographical affinities, which Heeren, Bohlen, and others have treated of in learned disquisitions.

²⁶⁷ A river of Sicily—*Thucyd.*, Bell Pelop., iv. 25

²⁶⁸ A western tributary of the Dnieper, according to Herodotus. Also, the name of another river which fell into the Pontus Euxinus. *Herod.*, iv. 17, 52; *Ovid.*, Pont., iv. 10, 47. *Metamorph.*, iv. 285.

²⁶⁹ A river on the eastern shore of the Euxine—*Plin.*, Nat. Hist., vi. 4; *Arrian*, Perip., p. 10.

²⁷⁰ Rocky mountains in the Caucasus and India. *Etymol. Magn.*, s.v. *Tuphaonia*.

²⁷¹ A river of Scythia, as well as of Colchis and of Taprobane—*Plin.*, Nat. Hist., x. 48. *Val. Flac.*, Argon., ii. 590. *Pausan.*, iv. 44. *Steph. Pryz.* Phasis. Respecting the Colchis of Southern India, see *Dr. Smith's Diet. of Geography*, v. "Colchis" and "Colchi India."

²⁷² This Odin-Buddha-Hypothesis, as the Germans call it, has been, perhaps, somewhat too readily condemned by Remusat, Klaproth, A. W. Schlegel, Ukert, and others. Compare Asiatic Researches, Fundgruben des Or., Vol. IV, p. 201. *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 144. *Introd. to Univ. Hist.*, ut sup., pp. 275-8. *Finn. Magnusen, Mythologæ Lexicon*, Copenhagen, 1848.

and attributes of distant places, already removed almost beyond mortal ken and approach, and lying far away—

“Extra flammantia mœnia mundi.”²⁷³

In the grossness of their indiscriminate adulation, they were at all times ready to ascribe to that conqueror the obscure achievements of mythical heroes, whose glory was inseparably connected with certain streams and mountains, which even they, in the plenitude of their power, had found it no easy matter to traverse and surmount. Strabo, indeed, informs us that the Argonautic monuments were industriously destroyed by Alexander's generals, from a ridiculous alarm lest the fame of Jason might surpass that of their master. Parmenio is especially mentioned both by him and Justin, as one whose jealousy was prompted to destroy several temples erected in honour of Jason, “in order that no man's name in the east might be more venerable than that of Alexander.”²⁷⁴

Hence, it has been justly remarked, even early writers, open to the influence of reason and philosophy, and guided by the results of an extended observation, that the Greeks have transposed these localities upon very slender foundations, and that many of the barbaric names have been *Hellenised*.²⁷⁵

We find frequent instances of the same tendency to corruption in our own Oriental nomenclature, but with even greater perversions. Thus, we have heard our ignorant European soldiery convert Shekh-awati into ‘sherry and water;’ Siraju-d Daula into a belted knight, ‘Sir Roger Dowler;’ Dalip into ‘Tulip;’ Shah Shuja’u-l Mulk into ‘Cha sugar and milk,’ and other similar absurdities; under which,

²⁷³ Compare on this subject, Strabo, Geogr., vii 35, xi. 2, Vol II p. 77, 408; the Scholiast upon Apollon Rhod., Argon., ii 397, 417; Ukert, alte Geographie, Vol III. pt 2, pp. 205, 505.

²⁷⁴ Justin, Hist. Phil., xlii 3; Strabo Geogr., xi 5, Vol. II. p. 421, xi. 11, p. 441, xi 14, p. 456, xv 1, Vol III. p. 253, xvi. 4, p 412, Arrian, Indica, ii; Exped. Alex., v. 3.

²⁷⁵ Nikanor, in Steph. Byz., Ethnica, v. Tanais. Compare Hesych, Lex., v. Sandarophagos; Schlegel, Ind. Bibliothek, Vol. II p. 297; Droysen, Geschichte Alex.'s, p. 405; Wesseling, ad Diod Sic., xvii. 83; Bernhardt, ad Dionys, Perieg. 714.

in like manner, "many of the barbaric names have been Anglicised."

But when we apply the same argument to the cases under consideration, we shall see it has no force; for here there has been no room for the corruptions and flatteries to which allusions have been made; nor did it ever occur to the Greeks to enter upon the same comparisons which are engaging our attention. When we carry these identifications yet further, we shall find names with which the Greeks were not even acquainted; and it is not between streams, towns, and mountains, that the similitudes exist, but between peoples in the one country and places in the other,—the latter known, the former unknown, to ancient historians and geographers,—who have, therefore, left the field open for moderns alone to speculate in.

Now, it is not merely in the two instances already adduced that these striking monuments of connection attract our observation; but, when we also find the Mairi next to the Sindi and Kerketæ,²⁷⁶ a tribe of Arii or Arichi,²⁷⁷ an island of Aria or Aretias,²⁷⁸ a river Arius,²⁷⁹ a tribe of Maetes

²⁷⁶ (*Pseudo-*) *Arist.*, de Mirabel Auscultat. c. 123. *The Sindi were by some authors considered to be a remnant of the Maotæ; Steph. Byz.*, v. *Sindon*, *Strabo*, Geogr. vi. 2. 1b. Vol. II. p. 404. This extraordinary juxtaposition of Sindi and Mairi again occurs in *Thrace*, See *Thucyd.*, Bell. Pelop. ii. 98. *Respecting the Sindi, Sindus, Sintica, and similar names in Thrace and Macedonia, see Herod.*, vii. 123; *Caesar*, Bell. Civ. iii. 79, *Liv.*, Hist. Rom., xxvii. 25, xl. 22, xlv. 46, xlv. 29. *Polybius*, Excerpt. x. 37, *Plin.*, Nat. Hist., iv. 10, *Steph. Byz.* v. *Sintia*, *Encyc. Metrop.* v. "Thrace" *Homer* tells us also of *Sintians* on *Lerinos*, who 'spoke a strange language,' *Il.* i. 594, *Od.* viii. 294, and they had before his time been noticed by *Hellanicus* of *Lesbos*, *Fragmenta*, 112, 113. *From these, the Scholast. on Thucydides* says, that the *Thracian Sindi* were derived. More Indian families might be mentioned in *Lycia* and other intermediate countries, but enough has been adduced on the subject to suit our present design.

²⁷⁷ *Strabo*, Geogr. *ibid.*, *Steph. Byz.* v. *Arrekhon*, *Ptol.*, *Geogr.*, v. 9.

²⁷⁸ *Apollon Rhod.*, *Argon.* ii. 103, *Plin.*, Nat. Hist., v. 13.

²⁷⁹ *Scyl.* *Caryand.*, p. 32. *The connection of the Arii and Mairi will be developed in the following Note.*

or Mæotai,²⁸⁰ a town of Madia,²⁸¹ a town of Matium,²⁸² a tribe of Matiani,²⁸³ a town of Mateta,²⁸⁴ a tribe of Kottæ,²⁸⁵ a country of Kutais,²⁸⁶ a city of Kuta,²⁸⁷ a city of Kutaia,²⁸⁸ a tribe of Kolchi,²⁸⁹ a district of Kolchis,²⁹⁰ a Kolchian sea,²⁹¹ a tribe of Koli,²⁹² the mountains of Koli,²⁹³ a district of Koli,²⁹⁴ a province of Iberia,²⁹⁵ a tribe of Iberes,²⁹⁶ a tribe of Bounomai,²⁹⁷ a district of Minyas,²⁹⁸ a city of Male,²⁹⁹ a tribe of Baternæ,³⁰⁰ a river of Bathys,³⁰¹ a port and town of Bata,³⁰² when we find all these names in close juxtaposition, reminding us in their various forms of our own Meds, Kathis, Koles, Abhirs, Minas, Mallinas, and Bhatīs, tribes familiar to us as being, at one time, in and

²⁸⁰ *Scymnus Chius*, 870; *Strabo*, ii. 5, xi. v; *Priscian*. *Perieg.*, 644. As for the lake Mæotis being so called, as *Herodotus* (iv. 86) says, because it is the mother of the Pontus, it is surprising that so frivolous a reason has met favour with modern geographers. See, on this name, *Zeuss*, *die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 296.

²⁸¹ *Ptol.*, *Geogr.* v. 9. ²⁸² *Plin.*, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 4.

²⁸³ *Pompon. Mel.*, de sit Orb., i. 2. ²⁸⁴ *Ptol.*, *Geogr.*, v. 8.

²⁸⁵ *Ptol.*, *Geogr.*, vi. 7.

²⁸⁶ *Orphei Argonaut.*, 824, 1009; *Apollon. Rhod.*, *Argonaut*, ii. 399, 403, iv. 511.

²⁸⁷ *Lycophron*, *Cassandra*, 174; *Steph. Byz.*, v. *Kuta*; *Eustath.*, ad. *Il.*, iv. 103.

²⁸⁸ *Val. Flaccus*, *Argon.*, vi. 428, 693; *Etymol. Mag.*, p. 77.

²⁸⁹ *Herod.*, ii. 104; *Diod. Sic.*, i. 28; *Pindar*, *Pyth.*, iv. 378.

²⁹⁰ *Strabo*, xi. 2, ib. p. 408; *Ptol.*, v. 10; *Pomp. Mela*, i. 19.

²⁹¹ *Strabo*, ib. p. 399.

²⁹² *Scyl. Car.*, *Periplus*, p. 31; *Steph. Byz.*, v. *Kolai*.

²⁹³ A portion of the Caucasus; *Hecataeus*, *Fragm.*, 161, 186; *Steph. Byz.*, ib.

²⁹⁴ *Steph. Byz.*, ib.; *Ptol.*, *Geogr.*, vi. 5.

²⁹⁵ *Ptol. Geogr.*, v. 9; *Val. Flacc.*, *Argon.*, vi. 120, *Pliny*, *Plutarch.* *Pomponius Mela*, etc.

²⁹⁶ *Strabo*, *Geog.*, xi. 2, p. 406; 3, p. 412; *Appian*, *Mithridates*, 101, 116.

²⁹⁷ *Orphei*, *Argonautica*, v. 1036. Their relation to the bucolic Abhirs, or Ahirs as we now call them, will be obvious to any one who has resided in India. *Ind. Alterthum*, II. 547, 953, 956.

²⁹⁸ *Servius ad Virgil.*, *Ecl.*, iv. 34.

²⁹⁹ *Scylax Caryand.*, *Periplus*, p. 32, and the note of *Vossius*, p. 42.

³⁰⁰ *Valer. Flacc.*, *Argon.*, vi. 70.

³⁰¹ *Plin.*, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 4; *Peuting.*, *Tab.*, *Scgm. vii*. This may be derived, as is usually supposed, from bathus 'deep'. *Dr. Falconer's translation of the Periplus of the Euxine Sea*, p. 44.

³⁰² *Scyl. Carland.*, *Peripl.*, p. 31; *Strabo*, *Geogr.*, ib. p. 406; *Ptol.*, *Geogr.*, v. 9.

near the valley of the Indus; and when we consider, moreover, that all these different names, including the Sindi and Kerketæ, were congregated about the western region of the Caucasus, within a space scarcely larger than the province of lower Sind, and when again we reflect upon the curious coincidence, that Pliny³⁰³ calls the former province "Scythia Scndica," while Ptolemy³⁰⁴ calls the latter "Indo-Scythia;" that even as late as the fifth century, the judicious ecclesiastical historian, Socrates,³⁰⁵ as well as the accurate geographer, Stephanus,³⁰⁶ continued to call the former by the name of "India," it is very difficult to resist the conviction, that these cumulative instances of combinations and affinities cannot be altogether accidental, or the mere result of diligent and ingenious exploration.

But, even allowing that all these miscellaneous instances of resemblance, brought forward in the preceding paragraph, are indeed purely fortuitous,—and it is willingly acknowledged that there is "ample room and verge enough" for a sharp eye, a nice ear, and a playful fancy, in the selection of such alliterative illustrations.—even if we reject them altogether as the products of a wild and dreamy imagination, and since they add little to the cogency of our argument, they may be resigned as such without a murmur, still it is impossible to yield the Sindi, the Kerketæ, or even the Maidi, to the cavils of such an illiberal and hostile spirit of criticism for, with respect to them, it must be confessed by all but the most obstinately sceptical, that they at least, stand boldly and prominently forth, as undoubted evidences of actual Indian occupancy on the shores of the Euxine.

It is not the purport of this Note to show how these coincidences could possibly have arisen; how nations, separated by so many mountains, seas, forests, and wastes, could have

³⁰³ Plin., Nat. Hist., iv 26

³⁰⁴ Geogr., vii.; Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieg., 1088, Mannert, Geogr. der Griechen und Römer, Vol. I p 220, Ersch and Gruber, Encycl. der Wissenschaften, v "Indo-scythia," Nouv. Journ. Asiatique, 3rd series, Tom. VIII p 264

³⁰⁵ Eccles. Hist., i 15 See also the note by Isaac Vossius to Scylax Caryand., p. 40, ap Hudson, Geogr. Gr. Min., Vol. I; and Freret, Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript., Tom. II p 603

³⁰⁶ Ethnica, vv. Gogippia et Sundikos See also Is. Tzetzes ad Lycophron, Cassandra, 174, where he calls the Kolchians Indikai Skuthai

preserved any signs whatever of original identity, much less of such close approximation in names, as has been here adduced. Ukert, the strongest opponent of this supposed connection between the Caucasus and India, mentions that the ancients are express in asserting that the Indians never sent out of their country any armies or colonies;³⁰⁷ but migrations might easily have arisen from other causes, and a hint has been thrown out above, that in this particular instance, the expatriation might perhaps not have been altogether voluntary.

In another part of this work I have traced, step by step, the progress of one Indian family from the banks of the Indus to the remotest shores of Europe; and in the following Note upon the Meds, I have shown several instances of compulsory transportations to countries nearly as remote; so that this branch of the enquiry need not engage our attention further in this place, the object of showing the probable existence of a tribe of Kerks, both on the Indus and Euxine, having, it is hoped, already been sufficiently proved to the satisfaction of every candid and unprejudiced mind.³⁰⁸

The Meds

We find the Meds frequently mentioned by the Arab authors on Sind, and, together with their rivals the Jats, they may be considered the oldest occupants of that province, who, in their names as well as persons, have survived to our own times.

The first account we have of them is in the *Mujmalu-t*

³⁰⁷ *Strabo*, Geogr., xv. 1, 1b Vol. III. p. 251, *Diod Sic*, Biblioth. Histor., ii. 38

³⁰⁸ Compare also *Wahl*, Asien, Vol I pp 793, et. seq : *Malte Brun*, Universal Geography, Vol II pp 27-52; *Lunemann*, Descriptio Caucast, *Götting*, 1803; *Rommel*, Caucas regionum et gentium *Straboniana* descr., Lips. 1804, *Ritter*, Asien, Vol II p 622; and die Vorhalle der Europäischen Völker-geschichten pp 51, 75, 300, *Fischwald*, Geogr d Kasp Meeres, p 303, et seq., *Boeckh*, Corpus Inscriptionum, Vol II pp. 100-110, *M V de St Martin*, Mem histor sur la Geog anc. du Caucase, Sect ii, in, m Etudes de Geog, Vol I: *Ukert*, Alte Geographie, Vol III pt. ii pp 282-286; *Christoph. Cellarius*, Notitiae orbis antiqui, Vol. II. pp. 356-367.

Tawarikh. That work mentions that the *Jats and the Meds* are reputed to be descendants of Ham, the son of Noah, and that they occupied the banks of the Indus, in the province of Sind. The Meds, who devoted themselves to a pastoral life, used to invade the territories of the Jats, putting them to great distress, and compelling them to take up their abode on the opposite side of the river; but, subsequently, the Jats, being accustomed to the use of boats, crossed over and defeated the Meds, taking several prisoners and plundering their country.

At last these two tribes, seeing the utility of protracting their contests any longer, agreed to send a deputation to Duryodhana, the king of Hastinapur, begging him to nominate a king to rule over them. Duryodhana accordingly nominated his sister Dassel (Duhsala), the wife of Jayadratha, who exercised the functions of government with great wisdom and moderation. The families and adherents of 30,000 Brahmans, who were collected from all parts of Hindustan, were sent by Duryodhana to her court, and from that time Sind became flourishing and populous, and many cities were founded. The Jats and the Meds had separate tracts of land assigned to them, and were governed by chiefs of their own election.

The queen and Jayadratha made the city of 'Askaland their capital; the same place, apparently, which is called in a subsequent passage 'Asakaland-usa, perhaps the Uchh of later times, as has been shown in another Note published elsewhere.

Jayadratha was killed in the fatal field of Thanesar, and his faithful wife ascended the funeral pile, after their reign had continued for more than twenty years. On the same field was extinguished the dynasty called after the name of Bharata, he being the most celebrated ancestor of Dhritarashtra, the father of Duryodhana and the Kurus. On the transfer of the empire to the Pandavas, Yudhishtira conferred Sind upon Sanjwara, the son of Jayadratha and Dassel (Duhsala) and from him Hal was descended. As the Great War, in which these heroes enacted a conspicuous part, has been supposed, on astronomical grounds, to have taken place during the twelfth cen-

tury B.C.,³⁰⁹ we must assign an equal antiquity to their contemporaries the Meds of Sind, if we put faith in this narrative; but as this early settlement is not, in Lassen's opinion, opposed to probability in the case of the Jats, we need not withhold our faith in its correctness with respect to the Meds. Indeed, admitting that the 'Jartikas' of the *Maha-bharata* and the *Puranas* represent the Jats, we cannot but consider the 'Madras' as representing the Meds—confirming thereby the antiquity and synchronism of these two races on the banks of the Indus.³¹⁰

During the period of Arab occupation, Muhammad Kasim is represented as making peace with the Meds of Surashtra, "seafarers and pirates, with whom the men of Basra were then at war." This gives a great extent to their dominion at that period towards the south-east.

In the time of Mu'tasim Bi-llah, 'Amran, the Barmekide, governor of Sind, directed an expedition against the Meds, in which he killed three thousand of them, and constructed an embankment, which he called the Meds' embankment, probably for the purpose of depriving them of the means of irrigation, as was done so effectually in 1762 and 1802 at Mora and Ali Bandar, when the Sindians ruined the prosperity of north-western Kachh. The word *Sakar*, 'embankment,' is preserved in the town of that name opposite to Rori, where, however, the mound is a natural limestone formation of about one hundred feet high, and not an artificial causeway.³¹¹ Nevertheless, we might, if we could be sure that any Meds were then on the western side of the Indus, pronounce this to be the identical locality; for certainly, in Biladuri, the whole transaction seems to be closely connected with 'Amran's proceedings against

³⁰⁹ Sir W. Jones, Works, Vol. III. p. 213; Vol. VII. 77. *Some fix it earlier. See Prichard, Researches into the Phys. Hist. of Mankind, Vol. IV. p. 101, et seq; Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol. I. p. 499, et seq; Prof. Wilson, J. A. S. Bengal, Vol. XIII. p. 81.*

³¹⁰ Lassen, de Pentapotamia Ind., p. 20, and Indische Alterth. Vol. I. pp. 97, 397, 821, Wilson, Vishnu Purana, Index, As Researches, Vol. VIII. p. 346; M. Vivien de St. Martin, Etudes de Geographic ancienne, Tom. i. p. 337.

³¹¹ *Sakar, or Sakhar, as it is now pronounced, is better known to the natives as "Chipribandar," which would imply that it was, in part at least, artificial.*

Kandabel and the Jats on the Aral river, not far from Sakar, insomuch that, immediately after settling affairs with them he returns to attack the Meds, having the chief of the Jats in his company. But, as on the occasion of this second attack, he dug a canal from the sea to their lake, rendering their water salt and nauseous, there can be no question of this scene, at least, being in the south-eastern portion of the province, where they were settled in the greatest numbers, and here, therefore, we must also look for the embankment raised in the first incursion. They are said to have been attacked by 'Amran from several different directions, and were thus doubtless reduced to great extremities.

During the reign of the same Khalif, we find an Arab chieftain, Muhammad bin Fazl, who had taken possession of Sindan, in the Abrasa district of Kachh, attacking the Meds with a squadron of seventy vessels,¹¹ on which occasion he took Mali, of which the position may be identified with Malia on the Machu. This powerful armament seems to have been directed against the sea-board of the tract invaded by 'Amran, now occupied by the Rani of Kachh; where Vigogad, Vingar, and Ballyari, on the northern, and Phangwari, Netona, Bitaro, etc., on the southern shore, are all known, both by concurrent native tradition, as well as by independent European observation, to have been once washed by the sea.

All these various expeditions, however, had but little permanent effect in reducing the power of the Meds, for Mas'udi informs us that, when he visited Sind, the inhabitants of Mansura were obliged continually to protect themselves against their aggressions.¹²

Ibn Haukal notices them under the name of Mand and though, without the diacritical point, the word might be read Med, yet as all the MSS., few as they are, concur in this reading, it must be retained. He describes them as dwelling on the bank of the Indus from the borders of Multan to the sea, and in the desert between that river and Famhal, the frontier town of Hind. They had many stations which they occupied as pasture grounds, and formed

¹¹ Barija in the original. See Note on the word "Barqi," published elsewhere.

¹² Memoire sur l'Inde, pp. 43, 50, 188, 215, 234.

a very large population, unconverted to the faith. What Abu-l Fida says of them is taken from this passage, and we do not read of them in any subsequent author.³¹⁴

Hence we might suppose that the tribe is entirely extinct, and have left no memorial of their existence, except the passages above quoted. M. Reinaud, indeed, observes that he finds it impossible to apply the name of Med or Mand, to any known population, and therefore conceives that the denomination is disfigured. But he is mistaken in this supposition, for the tribe of Med still exists, both to the east and the west of the Indus;³¹⁵ and those on the coast, being unable now to practise piracy after the mode of their ancestors, devote themselves to the more tranquil pursuit of fishing. To the east, we find them roving on the borders of Sind and Jodhpur, the site of their occupation during the Arab period; and to the west, they are found in the little ports of Makran, from Sunamiani to Charbar, divided into the clans of Gazbur, Hormari, Jellar-zai, and Chelmar-zai.

It is possible that the Meds, or some offshoot of that stock, may have been designated as Mand, for that syllable enters into the name of several native tribes and places existing to this day: as Mand-ar, the Mand-hor, the Mind-hro, besides the Buluch tribe of Mond-rani, as well as the ancient towns of Mand-ra and Mand-ropat, in Chachagam, to the east of the Guni, Mand-rasa to the north of the Makali hills, and Mund-ra and other similar names in Kachh.

That the Mers of the Aravali mountains and Kathiwar are descendants of the same family, is also not beyond the bounds of probability. The native pronunciation, especially in the western and north-western provinces of Hindustan, tends so much to an intermixture of the cerebral letters *r* and *d*,—the written character, indeed, being the same in both, and the diacritical marks being a mere modern innovation—that Mer and Med may be identical: and the addition of the aspirate, which sometimes makes the former into Mher, or, as we commonly write it Mhair, offers still no

³¹⁴ *Gildemeister*, Script. Arab. de rebus Indicis, p. 172.

³¹⁵ *In the Ayin-i Akbari also we have a tract called after their name within the Sirkar of Haji Khan.*

argument against identity, for that also is an *optional* ex-
 creescence, especially in the names of *peoples and families*.
 For the same reason, the connection of the Mahr of Ubaro,
 and other tracts in the Upper Sind, where they are reckoned
 by their neighbours as the aboriginal inhabitants of the
 country between Bhakkar and Bahawalpur, is equally
 plausible.³¹⁶

Tod pronounces the Mers to be of Bhatti origin, and
 derives their name from *Meru*, "a mountain." But at the
 same time that he pronounces them to be Bhattis, he says
 they are a branch of the Mina, or Mama, one of the abori-
 ginal races of India. These statements are obviously in-
 compatible, and the Bhatti hypothesis must be rejected.
 During the whole period of their known history, they have
 been conspicuous for their lawless and predatory habits,
 from the time when four thousand Mer archers defended
 their passes against Pirthi-Raj,³¹⁷ down to A.D. 1821, when
 their excesses compelled the British government to attack
 them in their fastnesses, and reduce them to complete
 obedience. Since which period, it is gratifying to observe
 that they have emerged from their barbarism, and, under
 the judicious management of European officers, have learnt
 to cultivate the arts of peace, and set a notable example of
 industry to the surrounding tribes.

Taking into consideration, therefore, the fact that the
 Mers of the Aravali are but little advanced beyond the tract
 where the Meds are known, a thousand years ago, to have
 formed a numerous and thriving population, that their
 brethren, the Minas, can themselves be traced in their ori-
 ginal seats to the banks of the Indus; that Kathiwar, or the
 Saurashtran peninsula, was the very nursery of the piratical
 expeditions for which the Meds were about the same period
 celebrated and feared, and where Mers still reside, we may

³¹⁶ To them may perhaps be ascribed the distinction of an *own* name
 to the *Mihran*, or *Indus*.

The old town of Mhar in Kachh, where there is a temple of great
 antiquity and celebrity, dedicated to the goddess *Asapura*, may prob-
 ably trace its origin to a similar source.

³¹⁷ With reference to the concluding paragraphs of this Note, the
 celebrity of Median archery—the Medi pharetra decori—should be
 borne in mind. *Horat.*, *Carm. u. Od. 16*, *Propert.*, *Lib. in Eleg. 11*.

conclude that to declare them identical, is doing no great force to reason and probability.³¹⁸

The simple permutation of a letter—not unnaturally forced, but based upon a law of common observance—introduces us to a new connexion of considerable interest; for we may make bold to claim, as an ancient representative of this race, Meris, or Moeris, the king of Pattala, who, on the approach of Alexander, deserted his capital, and fled to the mountains. The site of this town, at the head of the Delta of the Indus, answers well to the position which we may presume the chief of the Meds to have occupied at that period; and, that the name was not personal, but derived from his tribe, we may be satisfied, from the common practice of Alexander's historians, as exemplified in the instances of Abisares, Porus, Sambus, Musicanus, Assacanus, and Taxiles, who have these names severally attributed to them from the nations, countries, or towns over which they ruled. Dr. Vincent in admitting, as the etymon of Moeris, the Arabic words *Mir Rais*, "the ruling chief," has suffered his too easy credulity to be played upon by an ambitious young orientalist. Bohlen has attempted to trace in the name of Moeris a corruption of *Maharaja*, "the great king," in which he is followed by Ritter; but, independent of the fact that his kingdom was circumscribed within very narrow limits, he is expressly noticed by Arrian, under the humble title of *huparkhos* which invariably implies subordination, and not supremacy.³¹⁹ A more probable, but still unlikely, origin has been suggested, from the tribe of *Maurya*;³²⁰ but they were far away in the east, remote from Sind, so that altogether locality and verbal resemblance are

³¹⁸ Compare Chr Lassen, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1840, *Tom iii* p 189, and *Indische Alterthumskunde*, *Vol I* p 369; *Tod. Annals of Rajasthan*, *Vol I* pp 680-686; *II* 323; *Renouard*, *Encyclop. Metrop.*, *Vol X* pp 40-42; *Col Dixon*, *Report on Mhairwara*, *M. Vivien de Saint-Martin*, *Etudes de Geographie ancienne*, *Tom. I* p 339.

³¹⁹ *Q. Curt Ruf.*, *De gestis Alex Mag.*, *Lib ix. ch 34*; *Arrian*, *Anab.*, *Lib vi. ch 17*; *Ritter*, *Die Eradkunde von As.*, *Vol IV. pt. i* p. 474; *Bohlen*, *das Aite Indien*, *Vol I* p. 91, *Vineent*, *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, *Vol I* p 157

³²⁰ *Theod Bensley*, *Indien*; *M. F. Baudry*, *Encyclopedie Moderne*, *Tom. xviii. coll.* 140, 144.

most favourable to the present hypothesis, that Meris is a Grecised form for the "chief of the Mers."

We may even extend our views to a still more remote period, and indulge in speculations whether this tribe may not originally have been a colony of Medes. There is nothing in the distance of the migration which would militate against this supposition, for Herodotus mentions the Sigynnæ, as a colony of the Medes settled beyond the Danube:—"How they can have been a colony of the Medes," he observes, "I cannot comprehend, but anything may happen in course of time."³²¹ The Medians are also said to have accompanied the expedition of Hercules, when he crossed over from Spain into Africa.³²² The Sauromatæ were Median colonists beyond the Tanais, or Don.³²³ The Matienoi, or Matienes,³²⁴ the Kharumatæ,³²⁵ and possibly the Mares,³²⁶ were Caucasian colonists from Media, preserving in their names the national appellation of Matri or Media.

They may either have been transplanted to the banks of the Indus when the Mede-Persian empire extended so far to the eastward; or they may have migrated thither at some indefinitely early period; or they may have sought an asylum there upon the occupation of their country by the Scythians, or during the persecution of the Magi, who constituted one of the six tribes of Medes, just as the Parsis did in Guzerat at a later period and on similar occasion. It is worthy of remark that Ibn Haukal places the Budhas, or Budhyas, in the same category with the Mand representing them as comprising several tribes to the west of the Indus. Now, the Budii were also one of the six Median tribes, and the juxtaposition of these two names in the province of Sind should not escape notice, for they also may have formed a body of similar emigrants.³²⁷

All arguments against the probability of such dispersions

³²¹ *Herodotus*, i. 9.

³²² *Sallust Jugurtha*, 14, *Nouv. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Tom. xii. p. 181 et seq.

³²³ *Diod. Sic.*, *Bibl. Hist.* ii. 43. *Plur. Hist. Nat.* vi. 7. See on this subject, *Zeuss*, *die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 208.

³²⁴ *Dionysii Perieg.*, 1002, *Herod.*, i. 180. iii. 91, v. 49, 52.

³²⁵ *Stephan. Byzant.*, s.v. *Kharumatæ*.

³²⁶ *Herod.*, iii. 94; vii. 97. *Steph. Byzant.*, s.v.

³²⁷ *Herodotus*, i. 101; *Gildemeister*, *de rebus Indicis*, p. 172.

stand self-confuted, when we consider that Sindians were on the Euxine;³²⁸ and that, besides the familiar instances of Samaritans and Jews under the Assyrians, we read over and over again in Persian history, of the deportations of entire tribes, expressly termed *anaspastoi* by Herodotus.³²⁹ Thus we have the removal of Pæonians to Phrygia,³³⁰ of Barcæans from Africa to Bactria,³³¹ of Milesians to Ampe, near the Tigris,³³² of Egyptians to Susa,³³³ of Eretrians from Eubœa to Ardericca,³³⁴ and to Gordyenc,³³⁵ of Antiochians to Mahuza,³³⁶ and others which it would be tedious to specify.

There is another curious coincidence worthy of notice. It is well known, that from below the junction of the Panjab rivers down to Sihwan, the Indus takes the name of *Sar*, *Siro*, or *Sira*, and from below Haidarabad to the sea, that of *Lar*. It is more correct, but unusual, to add an intermediate division, called Wicholo, "central," representing the district lying immediately around Haidarabad, just as on the Nile, the Wustani, "midlands," of the Arabs represented the tract between Upper and Lower Egypt.³³⁷ Sir A. Burnes says that *Sir* and *Lar* are two Buluch words for "north" and "south." But the first is a Slavonic word also, which Gatterer and Niebuhr tell us is retained in *Sauro-matæ*, signifying "northern" Medes. There were also a province of Siracenc, and a tribe of Siraceni, and other similar names north of the Caucasus.³³⁸ The Slavonic and Persian show a great similarity: thus, *spaco* signifies "a bitch" in both, and the same with the first syllable of *Sauromatæ*, or *Sarmatæ*.³³⁹ Hence

³²⁸ I have entered on this subject in another Note, and will here merely again remark upon the singular fact of *Sindi* and *Maudi* occupying the same tract on the Euxine, and again, the *Sinti* and *Maudi* being found in close proximity with each other, even in Thrace.

³²⁹ Herodotus, iv. 204 ³³⁰ Herodotus, v. 98, vii. 80.

³³¹ Herodotus, iv. 204 ³³² Herodotus, vi. 20 ³³³ Ctesias, Persica,

³³⁴ Herodotus, vi. 119; Philostrati, Vita Apollon., i. 24-30.

³³⁵ Strabo, Geogr., xvi. 1; ed. Tauchnitz, Vol. III. p. 351.

³³⁶ Ancient Universal History, Vol. IX. p. 305

³³⁷ Dr. Eadie, Early Or. History, p. 13, Lt. Burton, Sindh, p. 4

³³⁸ Plin., Nat. Hist., iv. 26; Strabo, Geogr., xi. 2, 5; ed. Tauchnitz, Vol. II. pp. 399, 419, 422; Tacitus, Annal., xiii. 15; Ptol., Geogr., v. 9; Boeckh, Corpus Inscript., Vol. II. p. 1009.

³³⁹ Vuller's Institut, p. 32.

Sar for the "northern" Indus, was more probably a remnant of Median than Buluch emigration, though the Persian element could be accounted for, even on the latter supposition, seeing what a strong tincture the Buluchi language retains of its original Iranian connection.³⁴⁰

Moreover, amongst the several tribes of Kshatriyas, who, having neglected to observe the holy customs, and to visit the Brahmans, became so degenerate that they were expelled from their caste, and regarded as "Dasyus," or robber tribes, Manu enumerates the "Pahlavas."³⁴¹ "They are," continues the holy legislator, "Dasyus, whether they speak the language of Mlechchhas, or that of Aryas." Arya in Sanskrit, *airya* in Zend, means "noble," "sacred," "venerable;" hence a portion of Upper India is called Aryavarta, "the holy land," or "country of the Aryas." The Medes being also of the same original stock, were universally called Arii. The Aryas of Manu, therefore, are not necessarily, as some interpret, only degenerate natives, but may likewise have been Medes occupying the valley of the Indus. It is probable that a still earlier, and more degenerate branch of the same family may be spoken of under the name of "Meda," in the code of Manu, "who must live without the town, and maintain themselves by slaying beasts of the forest." Allusion seems here to be made to the Mers of the Aravali.³⁴²

³⁴⁰ Sir A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. pp. 64, 268; Dr. Burnes, *Visit to the Court of Sind*, pp. xiv. 107; Journ. R. As. Soc., Vol. I. p. 224; Journ. R. Geogr. Soc., Vol. III. 128, 130; Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient History*, Vol. I. 96; Herodotus, i. 110; Report of British Association, 1851, p. 145; Tuhfatul Kiram, MS. p. 166; Gatterer, *Comment. Soc. Scient. Gott.*, Vol. xii. pp. 160, 161.

The name of Sar is probably at least as old as the "Sorani" of Stephanus, a tribe which must have been on, or near, the Indus, because an Alexandria, enumerated by him as the fourteenth, was built within their territory. If the people of Sar are not meant, allusion is perhaps made to the Sodhas, who once occupied that country.—See *Ethnica*, v. *Alexandreia*.

³⁴¹ [Cf. *Pehlavi*].

³⁴² Herodotus, vii. 32; Institutes of Manu., ii. 22, 36, 45, 48; Heeren, *Historical Researches*; Asiatic Nations, Talboys, Vol. III. p. 322; Lassen, *Ind. Alterthums.*, Vol. I. pp. 515. et seq.; Ind. Bibliothek, Vol. III. p. 71; Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopadie* vv. "Indo-

These indications need not be enlarged on further in this place. Many will, of course, look upon them as fanciful and extravagant. Others, who feel so disposed, must pursue the investigation for themselves; for it is foreign to the main design of this Note, which has merely been to show that we have the *Meds* of the Arabs retaining their own name to this day, as well as probably under a slightly varied form, in and around the original seats of their occupation. That object has, it is hoped, been accomplished satisfactorily, and with regard to all extraneous matter, to use the words of Cicero, *sequimur probabilia, nec ultra quam id, quod verisimile occurrerit, progredi possumus, et refellere siue pertinacia et refelli sine iracundia parati sumus*.³⁴³

[General Cunningham, in his Report for 1863-64, says "The *Meds* or *Mands* are almost certainly the representatives of the *Maudrueni*, who lived on the *Mandrus* river, to the south of the Oxus; and as their name is found in the Panjab from the beginning, of the Christian era downwards, and in none before that time, I conclude that they must have accompanied their neighbours, the *Iatti*, or *Jats*, on their forced migrations to Ariana and India. In the classical writers, the name is found as *Medi* and *Mandueni*, and in the Muhammadan writers, as *Med* and *Mand*." To show that these two spellings are but natural modes of pronunciation of the same name, the General notices the various ways in which the name of a village on the Jhelam is spelt in different maps and books—*Meriāla*, *Moodiali*, *Mamariāla*, *Mandyāla*, *Mariāla*, and *Merali*.]

Germanischer Sprachstamm," p. 1, 46, and "*Indien*" pp. 4, 15, et seq.; *Abhandlungen de Koenig* Bayer Acad. der Wissenschaften, 1829, p. 146; *H Wilson*, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 119-124; *Pott*, *Etym. Forschungen*, pp. lxxii; *Burnouf*, *Comm. sur le Yaçna* Note p. cv; *M F Baudry*, *Encycl. Moderne*, Tom XIII col. 122-130.

³⁴³ Besides the special references given above, compare *M. Pavien de Saint Martin*, *Mém. Hist. sur la Geogr. anc. du Caucase*, pp. 242, 248, in *Études de Géographie*, Vol. I, and *Hist. de l'Asie Min. Ancienne*, p. 218; *Bocckh*, *Corpus Inscript.*, Vol. II p. 83; *Scharik*, *Slawische Alterthümer* Vol. I pp. 302, 333, et seq.; *Ukert*, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. III *Abth.* ii. pp. 119, 269, 273, 279, 284, 333, 337, 346.

["The earliest notice of the *Meds* is by Virgil, who calls the Jhelam *Medus Hydaspes*. The epithet is explained by the statement of Vibius Sequester, which makes the Hydaspes "past the city of Media." Now this is clearly the same place as Ptolemy's *Euthymedia*, or *Sagala*, which was either on or near the same river, and above Bukephala. Lastly, in the Peutingerian Tables, the country on the Hydaspes, for some distance below Alexandria Bucefalos, is called *Media*. Here then we have evidence that the *Medi*, or *Meds*, were in the Panjab as early at least as the time of Virgil, in B.C. 40 to 30, and as we know that they were not one of the five tribes of *Yuchi*, or *Tochari*, whose names are given by the Chinese writers, it may be inferred, with tolerable certainty, that they must have belonged to the great horde of *Sus*, or *Abars*, who entered India about B.C. 126, and gave their name to the province of Indo-Scythia."

[As the date of the Peutingerian Table is not later than A.D. 250, we have a break of upwards of four centuries before we reach the earliest notices of the Muhammadan writers. In these we find the *Meds* or *Mands* firmly established in Sindh, along with their ancient rivals the *Jats*, both of whom are said to be the descendants of Ham, the son of Noah. Rashid-ud din further states that they were in Sindh at the time of the Maha-bharata, but this is amply refuted by the native histories of the province, which omit both names from the list of aborigines of Sindh. Ibn Haukal describes the Mands of his time (about A.D. 977), as occupying the banks of the Indus from Multan to the sea, and to the desert between Makran and Farnal. Masudi, who visited India in A.D. 915-16, calls them *Mind*, and states that they were a race of Sindh, who were at constant war with the people of Mansura. These notices are sufficient to show, that at some time previous to the first appearance of the Muhammadans, the *Meds* must have been forced to migrate from the Upper Panjab to Sindh. There they have since remained, as there can be no doubt that they are now represented by the *Mers* of the Aravalli Range to the east of the Indus, of Kathiawar to the south, and of Biluchistan to the west."

["The name of *Mer*, or *Mand*, is still found in many parts of the Punjab, as in *Meror* of the Bari and Rechna Doabs, in *Mera*, *Mandra*, and *Madanpur* of the Sind Sagar Doab, and in *Mandali*, of Multan. *Mera*, which is ten miles to the west of Kalar Kahar, is certainly as old as the beginning of the Christian era, as it possesses an Arian Pali inscription, fixed in the side of a square well. The *Mers* would seem also to have occupied Lahore, as Abu Rihan states that the capital of Lohawar was named *Medhukur* or *Mandhukur*.³⁴⁴ This place is said to have been on the east bank of the Ravi, and, if so, it was most probably Lahore itself, under a new name. There is an old place called *Mandhyawala*, on the west bank of the Ravi, and only twelve miles to the south-west of Lahore, which may possibly be the *Mandhukur* of Abu Rihan. But the old mound of *Mirathira*, in the Gugera district, in which figures of Buddha and moulded bricks have been discovered by the railway cuttings, is a more likely place. This frequent occurrence of the name in so many parts of the Panjab, and always attached to old places, as in *Mera*, *Mandra*, and *Meriali*, of the Sindh Sagar Doab, and in *Medhukur* or *Mandhukur*, the capital of Lohawar, offers the strongest confirmation of the conclusion which I have already derived from the notices of the classical authors, that the *Meds* or *Mers* were once the dominant race in the Panjab. The special location of the *Medi* on the Hydaspes by classical writers of the first century of the Christian era, the evident antiquity of *Mera*, *Meriali*, and other places which still bear the name, and the admitted foreign origin of their modern representatives, the *Mers*, all point to the same conclusion, that the *Medi*, or *Meds*, were the first Indo-Scythian conquerors of the Panjab."

[* . * . *]. "About this time (30 to 20 B.C.) the *Meds* may be supposed to have retired towards the south, until they finally established themselves in Upper Sindh, and gave their name to their new capital of *Minragara*. As this could scarcely have been effected with the consent of the former occupants of Upper Sindh, whom I suppose to have been the *Iatii*, or *Jats*, I would refer to this period

³⁴⁴ [See elsewhere in a previous volume.]

as the beginning of that continued rivalry, which the historian Rashidu-d din attributes to the *Jats* and *Meds*.³⁴⁵ To this same cause I would also refer the statement of the Erythraean Periplus, that about A.D. 100, the rulers of Minnagara were rival Parthians, who were mutually expelling each other.”]

The Wairsi and Sodha Tribes

Wairsi, we are told in the *Beg-Lar-nama* (MS. p. 55), was a chief among the Sodhas. It would have been more correct to say that Wairsi was the chief clan among the Sodhas; for Wairsi was not a personal designation, as is evident from many passages of that work. It is written indiscriminately Wairsi and Wairsa, and a cognate, but then hostile, clan bore the closely similar name of Wairsa (MS. pp. 190, 191). The Sameja tribe, often mentioned in the same work, is also a branch of the Sodhas.

An exact translation of the text to which this note refers would represent Rajia as the daughter of the Rana (which, by the way, is spelt throughout in the original as Ra'na); but at p. 61 we learn that she was his sister's son, and so she is also styled in the *Tuhfatul Kiram* (MS. p. 73). Indeed, had he been his own daughter, we should not have found Abu-l Kasim Khan-i Zaman, who was the issue of the marriage with Mir Kasim Ber-Lar, passing his childhood among the Bhattis of Jesalmir after his father's death, but rather among the Sodhas of 'Umarkot.

The Soda or Sodha tribe (spelt Soda by Col Tod, and Sodâ by the Rev. Mr. Renouard) is an offshoot of the Pramara, and has been for many centuries an occupant of the desert tracts of Western India into which they have receded, like their predecessors, when driven forward by more powerful neighbours from the banks of the Indus. Col Tod contends that they are the descendants of the Soedi of Alexander's time, in which there is greater probability than in most of his speculations. Soedi may be a corruption, derived from the greater familiarity of historians with the northern nation of that name. The Sodra of

³⁴⁵ [See the *Mujmalu-t Tawarikh*]

Diodorus offers an equal resemblance of name and position. It is not plain which bank of the river the Sodra or Sogdi then occupied. They are not mentioned by Q. Curtius, and Arrian's use of "right" and "left," as applied to the banks of the Indus, is so opposed to the modern practice of tracing a river from its source downwards, that it adds to the confusion.

The transaction mentioned in the text shows the early period at which the Hindus began to disgrace themselves by their inter-marriages with Muhammadans; and the high repute of the beauty of the Sodha women has served to maintain that practice in full vigour to the present time.

At the period treated of, we find the Sodhas in possession of 'Umarkot, of which the name and consequence have been subsequently much increased, independent of its importance as a border fortress, by being the birth place of the renowned Akbar.

The Rana of the Sodhas was expelled from 'Umarkot by the Talpurs of Sind; and the present representative of the family, who still retains his title of Rana, resides at Chor, a few miles north-east of his former capital, shorn of all power, and hard pressed for the means of subsistence.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁶ *Mannert*, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. V., *Ritter*, *Die Erakunde von As.*, Vol. II pt 1 p 471, *Tod*, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I p 93; II. p 310-319; *Encyc Metrop*, Vol XXIII p 781; *Journ. R. As Soc.*, Vol I p. 33, *Mitford*, *Hist of Greece* Vol. X. pp 231, 232, notes 15 to 17, *Dr. Burnes*, *Visit to the Court of Sindh*, p. 105; *Journ R Geog Soc*, Vol II' p. 93; *Vincent*, *Comm. and Nav of the Ancients*, Vol. I. pp 137-145, *Arrian Anab.* vi 15; *Diod Sic*, *Biblioth Hist*, xvii 102, *Mrs Postans*, *Cutch*, pp. 52, 136

MISCELLANEOUS NOTE

The Terrors of the Moghal Helmet

The reader of the history of the Crusades will recognize a similar anecdote, relating to a hero more familiar to him than Darya Khan. The chivalrous Sire de Joinville tells us, that Richard's name acted as a powerful sedative upon the children of the Saracens, and that even their very horses were presumed to start at his shadow.—

“Le roy Richard fist tant d’armes outremer a celle foys que il y fu, que quant les chevaus aus Sarrasins avoient pouour d’aucun bisson, leur mestres leur disoient:—‘*Cuides tu,*’ fesoient ils a leurs chevaus, ‘*que se soit le roy Richart d’ Angleterre*?’ Et quant les enfans aus Sarrasins breoient, elles leur disoient.—‘*Tay-toy! tay-toy! ou je irai querre le roy Richart qui te tuera.*’³⁴⁷

It is curious that we should learn this from a Frenchman only. Our English chroniclers, who exhaust the language of panegyric in speaking of Richard, omit this anecdote, which appears to be derived from a mere eastern mode of expressing terror.

In the passage taken from the *Tarikh-i Tuhri* we have not only children taking fright, but women even bringing forth prematurely, at the name of Darya Khan. The same effect is ascribed in that work (pp. 48, 52) to the Moghal cap:—“Such fear of the Moghals fell upon both men and women, that the men lost all courage, and the women miscarried at the very sight of the Moghals with their terrific head-pieces.” But the shape and feature of this alarming helmet, or *Taki*, are not described. The *Fuhfatu-l Kiram* tells us that even horses started at it, as those of the Saracens at Richard of England.

We might, from the expressions used, conceive that their helmets, like those of Ulysses and some of the barbarous nations of antiquity, were covered with alarming devices of open jaws and fiery dragons, and that the Moghals in Sind stalked about,—

—— tegmen torquens immane leonis
Terribili impexum seta, cum dentibus albis, Indutus.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ Hist du roy St Loys, ix. p. 116, see also Matt Westm., p. 304

³⁴⁸ *Vita Æn.* vii. 666

but had this been the case, we should have most probably had more frequent mention of the circumstance, especially by Khusru, who was their prisoner, and delighted to record their hideous faces and fashions.

But neither in Khusru, nor in any other author, do we find notice of such an helmet, or *chapelle de fer*, as would give rise to the fears here depicted. A good European observer of their manners merely remarks that the upper part of their casque was of iron or steel.³⁴⁹ The tail of hair, if it was worn according to its present dimensions, might, notwithstanding its being honoured as a royalty,³⁵⁰ have excited surprise, and perhaps ridicule, but no alarm. From an early period, ever since the Moghal tribes were known to Europe, this appendage has naturally excited observation, just as it does not where they border on European nations.³⁵¹ Procopius³⁵² and Priscus³⁵³ remark upon it as a peculiarity of the Huns.

It is probable that these Moghals in Sind may, in their day, have worn a head-dress, such as Rubruquis, more than two centuries before, had attributed to their women. Even at present, the Turk-man female cap is no pigmy, being higher than a military ehako, over which a scarf is thrown, reaching down to the waist. But this is nothing to what it was in the time of our adventurous traveller. That was indeed calculated to inspire terror, and produce the results attributed to the *Taki*. It must have been more formidable than European courts ever produced, even in the horned and steeple coiffure of the fifteenth century.

"Their women have an ornament for their heads, which they call *Botta*, being made of the barke of a tree * * * It hath a square sharp spire rising from the toppe thereof.

³⁴⁹ *Galea autem est supernus ferrea vel de chalybe, sed ille quod protegit in circuitu collum et gulam de corio est*.—*I de Plano-Carpini, in Recueil de Voyages et de Memoires, Tom IV* p 687

³⁵⁰ "*A Mongol is amenable to punishment if he pluck another by his tuft of hair, not on account of the assault, but because the tuft is declared to be the property of the Emperor*"—*Pallas, Mongolischen Volker, Vol I* p 194

³⁵¹ *M J de Klaproth, Voyage au Caucase, Tom I* p 83.

³⁵² *Historia Arcana*, p 31, *Lugd* 1623 *He says the Massagetae adopt the same custom*

³⁵³ *Excerpta de Legationibus*, 2

being more than a cubite in length, and fashioned like unto a pinnacle. * * * * Upon the midst of the sayd spire, or square toppe, they put a bunch of quills or of slender canes, another cubite long, or more.* * * Hereupon, when such gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld afar off, they seem to be souldiers with helmets on their heads, carrying their lances upright; for the sayd *Botta* appeareth like a helmet with a lance over it."³⁵⁴

This is like the fantastic *fontange* of Europe, raised an ell above the head, and pointed like steeples, which caused our pious preachers infinite trouble, as well as missionary perambulations, for its suppression. So like, indeed, that it would really seem to be derived direct from the eastern model, but that these comical fashions are the product of no particular age or country; for even before the decline of the Empire, the Roman lady—

"Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput; Andromachen a fronte videbis."³⁵⁵

Nevertheless, when we consider that, about the time of the capture of Constantinople, Turkish turbans were all the rage in Western Europe, we may perhaps admit, that, had we not become acquainted with Tartar costume, the marvellous absurdity of the steeple-cap never could have been introduced amongst us. Paradin describes it as—"Made of certain rolls of linen pointed like steeples, about an ell in height. These were called by some, great butterflies, from having two large wings on each side, resembling those of that insect. The high cap was covered with a fine piece of lawn, hanging down to the ground, the greater part of which was tucked under the arm."³⁵⁶

This must evidently be the same as the Tartar *Botta*, and the illuminations of that period make the dimensions still more portentous, and the resemblance to the eastern origi-

³⁵⁴ *Rubruquis*, cap. 8, ap. Hakluyt, *Voyages and Discoveries*, Vol. I. p. 108. The original Latin is given at p. 232, and a similar description by Jean de Plan-Carpin, at p. 615 of the *Recueil de Voyages et de Memoires*, above quoted. *Quatremere*, *Hist. Mong.*, p. 102, note 30.

³⁵⁵ *Journal*, Sat., vi. 501. *Ruperti's* note gives other instances.

³⁵⁶ *Paradin*, *Annales de Bourgogne*, p. 700.

nal still more striking. The *paysannes* of Normandy have to this day preserved this monstrous extravagance for the gratification of modern eyes.³⁵⁷

If this was not the Alpine chapeau which spread such dismay in Sind, it may have been the lofty dark sheepskin *Tilpak*,³⁵⁸ which the Turkman now wear, about a foot high. An exaggerated form of this would have been alarming enough to produce the effect described.

Dismounting for Combat

We find that the practice of dismounting, previous to coming to close combat, is frequently alluded to in these local histories, as being of common observance among many of the border tribes between Sind and Rajputana.

Here in the Extract from the *Beg-Lar-nama*, (See elsewhere) it is the Sodhas and Rathors who adopt it. Elsewhere again, we find the Jharejas of Guzerat, who accompanied Jam Firoz against Mirza Shah Husain, appealing to that custom, as established among themselves; declaring that they always fought with the enemy on foot.

We have seen above (*supra*) that Rai Chaeh and Mahrat of Chitor contend against each other on foot; the former representing that, being a Brahman, he was unable to fight on horseback; then again mounting his horse unexpectedly, he slays his antagonist with the most deliberate treachery.

It is probable that the Rana of Chitor would not have so readily been deceived by this insidious challenge, had it been at all opposed to the military practice of those times. Indeed, to the present day, we find Sindians, unlike most Asiatic nations, still somewhat repugnant to fighting on horseback, and priding themselves more on being foot soldiers than cavalry.

I allude in a subsequent note to the dismounting being followed by binding those fighting on the same side, one

³⁵⁷ Wright, *Achaological Journal*, No i; Addison, *Spectator*, No. 98; Planché, *Hist of British Costume*, pp 146-149, 236-263; Argentre, *Hist de Bretagne*, livr. x ch 42; Bayle, *Dict. Histor.*, v "Andromaque," rem G and v "Conecte"

³⁵⁸ I presume this is the same as the *Kalpāk*, on which see *L'Univers*. Pitt., vi. 67

to the other, by their waistbands: but this seems to have been resorted to only in desperate circumstances, when there was no chance, or intention, of escape. The mere dismounting appears not to have been attended with any vow of self-sacrifice.

In Persian history we meet with similar instances of this dismounting to engage in single combat. Thus, after the fatal battle of Kadisiya, the Persian general, Takharjan, dismounts to fight with the Arab champion, Zahir.

The practice was very common in the Middle Ages in Europe, being introduced chiefly for the purpose of obviating the inconvenience of the cumbersome armour of that period. The cavalry dismounted, leaving their horses at some distance, and combated with their lances on foot. William of Tyre (xvii. 4) says of the Emperor Conrad's cavalry, in the second Crusade:—"Do equis descendentes, et facti pedites; sicut mos est Teutonicis in summis necessitatibus bellica tractare negotia." The English did the same in their engagement with the Scotch, in 1138, near North Allerton, commonly called the Battle of the Standard. Comines also (i. 3) observes upon it as a Burgundian fashion: "Entre les Bourgignons, lors estoient les plus honorez ceux que descendoient avec les archers."

In the wars of Edward III. dismounting was not uncommon; and Sir John Hawkwood, one of his knights, the famous partizan leader, disguised by contemporary writers under the name of Aucud or Agutus, introduced it into Italy. And it was, as we learn from Monstrelet (ii. 10, 20), practised by the English in their second wars with France especially at the battles of Crevent and Verneuil.⁵⁹

Colligation in Fighting

The extraordinary custom alluded to in the *Beg Lam-nama*, of a devoted band tying themselves together by their waistbands, before fighting *a tout ou trance*, is mentioned in the same terms in the *Tarikh-i Sind* (MS. p. 173)

"When they saw the army of the Moghals, they dismount-

⁵⁹ Hallam's *Europe in the Middle Ages* Vol. I. p. 508

ted from their horses, took their turbans from off their heads, and binding the corners of their mantles, or outer garments, to one another, they engaged in battle; for it is the custom of the people of Hind and Sind, whenever they devote themselves to death, to descend from their horses, to make bare their heads and feet, and to bind themselves to each other by their mantles and waistbands."

These people appear most of them to have been Sammas; and it is among their descendants in Kachh that we find this curious custom again alluded to (*Tarikh-i Sind*, MS. p. 194), when Mirza Shah Husain attacked Rai Khangar. Here we have a new feature added, of serrying shields together like a compact phalanx.

"The men under Khangar, having set themselves in battle array, *dismounted from their horses, locked their shields together, seized their spears in their hands, and bound the corners of their waistbands."*

The *Tarkhan-nama* omits all mention of the proceedings between Rai Khangar³⁶⁰ and Mirza Shah Husain, but they are noticed in the *Tuhfatul Kiram* (MS. p. 194); and the observance of this strange practice is also there alluded to, in words similar to those quoted from the *Tarikh-i Sind*.

The dismounting from horseback, prior to actual contact in the field of battle, is mentioned in a previous note and appears to have been a more common occurrence; but the colligation evidently implies desperation, even unto death.

Some barbarous nations of antiquity seem to have adopted the same practice, but more with the object, apparently, of keeping their ranks unbroken, than symbolizing any vow of self-destruction. So, at the battle of Campi Raudii, we read of the Cimbri binding themselves together by long chains run through their belts, avowedly for the purpose of maintaining an unbroken line.³⁶¹ There is good reason to suppose that the Soldurii of Gaul and the Comites

³⁶⁰ According to a stanza familiarly quoted in Guzerat, there have been no less than seven Jhareja chieftains of this name. We need not here show which was the opponent of Mirza Shah Husain.

³⁶¹ Plutarch, Marius, cap. 27.

of Germany showed their devotion occasionally in a similar fashion.³⁶²

Even as late as the days of chivalry, we find a resort to the same singular mode of showing a desperate resolve to die in the field. See what the heroic king of Bohemia, together with his faithful and devoted companions did at the glorious battle of Crecy:—

"The valyant kynge of Behaygne (Bohemia), called Charles of Luzenbounge, sonne to the noble Emperour Henry of Luzenbounge, for all that he was nyghe blynde, whan he vnderstode the order of the batayle, he sayde to them about hym, "Where is the lorde Charles, my sonne." His men sayde, "Sir, we can nat tell; we thynke he be fightynge. Than he sayde, "Sirs, ye ar my men, my companyons, and frendes in this journey; I requyre you bring me so farre forwarde, that I may stryke one stroke with my swerde." They sayde they wolde do his commaundement; and to the intent that they shulde not lese hym in the prease, *they tyed all their raynes of their bridelles and to other*, and sette the kynge before to accomplysshe his desyre, and so they went on their ennemyes. The lord Charles of Behaygne, his sonne, who wrote hymselfe Kynge of Bhaygne, and bare the armes, he cam in good order to the batayle; but whan he sawe that the matter went awrie on their partie, he departed, I can nat tell you whiche waye. The kynge, his father, was so farre forewarde, that he strake a stroke with his swerde, ye and mo than foure, and fought valyantly, and so dyde his company; and they adventured themselfe so forewarde, that they were ther all slayne; and the next day they were founde in the place about the kynge, *and all their horses tyed eche to other.*"³⁶³

A curious instance occurred even lately, when Muhammad 'Ali gained his victory over the Wahabis at Bissel. Several bodies of the Azir Arabs, who sworn by the oath of divorce, not to turn their backs on the Turks, were found by the victors tied together by the legs, with the intent of

³⁶² Caesar, Bell. Gall., Lib. iii. Cap. 22, vii. 40; Tacitus, Germania, Cap. 14; J. Schiller, Thesaur. Antiq. Teutonicurum, iii. pp. 38, 749.

³⁶³ Froissart's Chronicles, translated by Lord Berners, Cap. 30, Vol. I p. 157.

preventing each other from running away, and in that unbroken and desperate line of battle were literally cut to pieces.³⁶⁴

Barge, an Arabic word

The term used by Biladuri to represent a vessel of war is *Barija*. He uses the same word, in the plural, in speaking of the vessels which were captured by the Meds, on their voyage from Ceylon to the Persian Gulf, an act of piracy which led to the Arab conquest of Sind (*supra*).

Biruni says also, a century later, that the *Bawarij* are established at Kaehh and Somnat, and are so called because they devote themselves to the pursuit of piracy, in ships which are called *Bera* (*supra*).³⁶⁵ This is a native word still in use for a boat, but the origin of the term *Bawarij* must be sought, not in the Indian *Bera*, but rather in the Arabic *Barija*, which Golius, on the authority of the *Kamus*, tells us to mean a large vessel of war.³⁶⁶

From the same source our English *Barge* seems to be derived, which, though at first view it may appear rather a startling assertion, will perhaps be admitted, when we see now best etymologists have failed in their endeavours to trace its real origin. Johnson (Todd) says it is derived from old French *Barje*, or *Barge*, and Low-Latin *Barga*. He should have ascertained whence the French *Barje* is itself derived. Tooke says, *Barge* is a strong boat, and *Bark* is a stout vessel, derived from the past participle of *beorgan*, "to protect," "to strengthen."³⁶⁷ Crabb says from *Barca*.³⁶⁸ Richardson, from the Gothic *baigan*, "to fortify." Webster, from Dutch *Bargie*. Palgrave tells us that the piratical boats of the Danes were called *Barga* and *Barka*,³⁶⁹ and *Barca* is

³⁶⁴ Sir H. Brydges, *History of the Wahauby*, p. 91; Dr. Crichton, *History of Arabia*, p. 602.

³⁶⁵ See also *Gildemeister*, de reb. Ind., p. 185.

³⁶⁶ *Narrus magna bellica*—Lexicon Arabico-Latinum, s.v.

³⁶⁷ *Diversions of Purley*, Vol. II, p. 181.

³⁶⁸ *Technological Dictionary*, s.v.

³⁶⁹ Quoting *Hincmar*—"quas nostrales Bargas vocant"—*History of Normandy and England*, Vol. I, p. 510.

used by the Monk Abbo, in his unpolished poem (A.D. 891) on the siege of Paris by the Normans.

*Barcas per flumina raptant.*³⁷⁰

But we have no occasion to look for any connection between our words *Bark* and *Barge*. The former is confessedly an old word, the latter comparatively modern. The former is, indeed, much older than even the Danish or Norman piracies. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, who died A.D. 431, applies it thus:—

Ut mea salubri *Barca* perurgio torret
Puppis superstes obrita."

In consequence of its use by Byzantine authors, altered into *Balka* by Nicetas,³⁷² Salmasius and J. C. Scaliger have sought for a Grecian origin of the word, and the latter finds it in *Baros*, quasi, "a ship of burden."³⁷³ Others, again, say from "*Barca*, a city of Africa," and Rodene of Toledo, from "*Barco*, a city of Spain."³⁷⁴

Our more immediate concern, however, is with *Barge*, respecting which it is obvious to remark, that, though its present use is confined to fluvial transits and pageanties—whether for the conveyance of coals or cockneys, merchandize or Lord Mayors—it was, on its first introduction, designed for higher purposes. Our oldest writers apply it solely to sea-going craft. Thus Chaucer:—

He knew wel all the havens, as they were,
Fro' Gotland to the Cape de Finstere,
And every creke in Gretagne and in Spaine
His *barge* ycleped was the Magdelaine."

Even as late as the fifteenth century, the great Swedish ship of 1000 tons burden was called the King's *barge*;³⁷⁵ and the largest vessel hitherto built in Scotland was called

³⁷⁰ De bello Paris, *Lib. ii.* This poem was published in Latin and French, with notes, by M. Taranne, in 1834.

³⁷¹ Poemata, 13.

³⁷² Alex., *Lib. i.* Num. 7.

³⁷³ Exercitat., 71.

³⁷⁴ De rebus Hispan., *Lib. i.* Cap. 5. These quotations are from Hofmann, *Lexicon Universale*, Vol. I. p. 476. See also Ducange, *Glossar. Med. et Inf. Latinitatis*, xv.

³⁷⁵ Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, v. 412.

³⁷⁶ *Rymers Fæderes*, Vol. XI. p. 364.

the Bishop's *barge*.³⁷⁷ But what is more to the purpose is, that we do not find mention of the word till the Crusades had introduced it, through the Arabic language, into our vocabulary,³⁷⁸ and then only as a large ship, used chiefly on military expeditions. So, in the very old Romance of Richard Cœur de Loin :—

Among you partes³⁷⁹ every charge
I brought in shippes and in *barge*,
More gold and silver with me,
'Than has your lord and swilke³⁸⁰ three.

Again, a little further on :—

Against hem comen her navey,
Cogges,³⁸¹ and dromounds,³⁸² many galley,
Barges, schoutes, and trayeres fele,³⁸³
That were charged with all weal,
With armour, and with other vitail,
That nothing in the host should fail³⁸⁴

Coupling this early and distinctive use of the term with the fact of its being first used during the Holy Wars, and with the unsatisfactory guesses of our lexicographers, we may safely conclude that the English *Barge* is no other than the Arabic *Barija*, however much it may now be diverted from the original design of its invention.

³⁷⁷ Mac Pherson's Annals of Commerce, Vol I p 689

³⁷⁸ Admitting that the g in the Low-Latin *Barga* may have had the soft pronunciation of j, and that *Barge* is thence derived, we can still refer its origin to the Arabs in Spain

³⁷⁹ *Divide*.

³⁸⁰ *Such*

³⁸¹ *Cock-boats*

³⁸² *Large vessels of burthen* This word, though a Greek etymology is assigned to it, is probably itself Arabic—MacPherson, Annals of Commerce, Vol I p 352

³⁸³ *Many long-boats*

³⁸⁴ Ellis, Early English Metrical Romances, pp. 315, 324

The End

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